Delaware History

Volume V *September, 1953* Number 4

Two Generations of Bayards Debate the Question: Are Congressmen Civil Officers?
Harold M. Hyman and Morton Borden 225

Rum and Reform: Temperance in Delaware Politics
Charles H. Bohner 237

Communicant Records, 1713-56, Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church
Part I: 1713-18
Transcribed and edited by *Courtland B.* and *Ruth L. Springer* 270

News Notes and Book Reports
Marie Windell 291

A Publication of
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE

Illustrations

Senator James A. Bayard, Sr., and Senator James A. Bayard, Jr. opp 236

Signing the Temperance Pledge opp. 237

The Temperance Pledge 269

Two Generations of Bayards Debate the Question: Are Congressmen Civil Officers?

By HAROLD M. HYMAN and MORTON BORDEN*

IS a congressman a civil officer? This complex question faced the Senate of the United States in 1799 and in 1864. Two generations of Bayards figured prominently in both occasions. The elder James A. Bayard, progenitor of the famous Delaware family, attacked the issue in 1799 as prosecutor of William Blount in America's first impeachment trial. Bayard's son and namesake, more than a half century later, debated the identical subject in the midst of civil war. The uniqueness of the coincidence is heightened by the fact that father and son differed from each other in their conclusions, that both found themselves, successively, in the minority when the final vote was taken.

The answer to this question is of more than antiquarian interest. If a congressman is classifiable as a civil officer, he is, for example, liable to impeachment. All through American history the threat of impeachment has been used as a political weapon. John Quincy Adams, returning to the lower house after serving as President, was menaced by the cry of impeachment.[1] Robert La Follette, Sr., senator from Wisconsin, received the same intimidating warnings when he sat in the upper house.[2] In 1950, a major veterans' organization

*Harold M. Hyman, Assistant Professor of History, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, received the Albert J. Beveridge Prize for his doctoral dissertation ("Era of the Oath: Northern Loyalty Tests During the Civil War and Reconstruction," Columbia University, 1952), a portion of which is presented in this article. The thesis as a whole is in process of publication.

Morton Borden, his co-author, whose work has previously appeared in this journal, is a member of the Department of History, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

1. Gilbert H. Barnes, *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844* (New York, 1933), p. 167.

2. Edward N. Doan, *The La Follettes and the Wisconsin Idea* (New York, 1947), p. 117.

demanded the impeachment of Senator Joseph McCarthy.[3] Are congressmen impeachable? The answer to this depends upon the solution of the troublesome question — are congressmen civil officers? The considerations which Delaware's two Bayards gave to this problem provides the solution.

The United States was ten years old in 1799. Many people thought it would die in adolescence. The country had been wracked for years by political factionalism and sectional antipathies. Jay's Treaty, the XYZ affair, the Alien and Sedition acts, had aroused and divided the people into antagonistic camps. Popular assumption declared every Federalist a secret worshipper of the British crown, every Republican a Frenchman in disguise.

This categorical alignment was difficult to maintain when the Blount affair intruded on the scene in 1797. President Adams, in July of that year, released an intercepted letter containing dark and foreboding intimations of an international conspiracy. The letter, dated April 21, 1797, was written by a Republican senator from Tennessee, William Blount, to an Indian interpreter, James Carey. Blount wrote:

> I believe, . . . that the plan . . . talked of will be attempted this fall, . . . and if the Indians act their part, I have no doubt but it will succeed . . . I shall myself . . . be at the head of the business on the part of the British. . . . it is not yet quite certain that the plan will be attempted: . . . you must take care in whatever you say . . . not to let the plan be discovered by . . . any . . . person in the interest of the United States nor Spain . . . When you have read this letter over three times, then burn it.[4]

Robert Liston, the British minister, corroborated the intimations contained in this letter. Some months previously, he had been approached with a plan to conquer Spanish territory in the South and West.[5] Then it was true, impossible

3. *New York Times*, June 5, 1950, concerning the American Veterans' Committee.

4. Adams sent the letter to Congress on July 3, 1797; *Annals of Congress: The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States* . . . (Washington, 1851), 5th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 440-41. For the letter, see *ibid.*, 2nd Sess., pp. 2349-2350.

5. The ramifications of the complex conspiracy are best described in Frederick Jackson Turner (ed.), "Documents on the Blount Conspiracy, 1795-1797," *American Historical Review* (April, 1905), X, 574-606.

but true, ridiculous but real, hopelessly confusing; a Republican senator and a British minister were linked in a nefarious plot.

Partisan reactions were quick and natural. Federalists labeled the entire affair "a French plot," and cited Blount's voting record as proof of his perfidious Republican nature.[6] Mrs. Ann Ridgely, for example, wrote:

> . . . I confess I sh[oul]d have been more surpriz'd and much more distress'd if he had been a profess'd Fed[eralist] — he has been regularly blating against the British Treaty — and ev'ry thing in fact that the best and wisest men thought most conducive to the good of America — his name is Blount.[7]

The Jeffersonians called it "Liston's Conspiracy," and attributed Blount's aberration to "the British Party who Seduced him."[8] Thomas Rodney "conjectured" to his diary:

> . . . what . . . [Blount] appears in is only a party of the . . . Plan of the brittish [*sic*] Party generally to draw us into the war . . . . This is a Spark which will bring to light some of that Brittish Influence & Corruption which has pervaded America so long.[9]

Within a week after the disclosure of Blount's letter, the Senate expelled him, and the House appointed a committee to examine the affair with a view to possible impeachment.[10] The committee, consisting of three Federalists (Bayard, Samuel Sitgreaves, and Robert Goodloe Harper), and two Republicans (John Dawson and Abraham Baldwin), labored through the summer heat to complete the picture of the conspiracy. Dawson told Madison of his "well-grounded reasons" for believing that the committee "shall bring in some

6. The quotation is from a letter by Republican John Dawson to James Madison, Dec. 10, 1797, in which Dawson describes Federalist reaction, Madison Papers (MSS in the Library of Congress).

7. Letter from Ann Ridgely to Henry M. Ridgely, July 9, 1797, Ridgely Papers (Delaware State Archives, Dover, Delaware).

8. The first quotation is from John Dawson to James Madison, Aug. 13, 1797, Madison Papers; the second is the entry for July 12, 1797, in the "Diary" of Thomas Rodney, Rodney Papers (MSS in the library of the Historical Society of Delaware).

9. Rodney, "Diary," July 9, 1797.

10. July 8, 1797, *Annals of Congress*, 5th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 44, 463-65.

large fish."[11] In the end, however, all of the committee's angling resulted only in a documentation of what had been obvious from the beginning. The plot was immature and hopeless, sensational but sterile. These schemes and plans, blueprints for an empire, were based on a hope of English participation. When that aid was not forthcoming, Blount's dreams collapsed.[12] After sifting the wreckage for evidence, the committee, on January 25, 1798, presented articles of impeachment against Blount.[13] There were no precedents—parliamentary uncertainty combined with political partisanship to delay the impeachment proceedings until the end of that year. On December 17, 1798, the Senate formed itself into a court of impeachment for the first time in its history.[14]

Two prominent attorneys, Jared Ingersoll and Alexander J. Dallas, defended Blount. The Senate must dismiss the case they argued, for Blount, as a congressman, was not a civil officer. As a consequence, he was not subject to impeachment.[15]

Bayard and Harper, impeachment managers for the House, denied this plea. The battlelines were drawn, the stage was set, the antagonists aligned—the Senate would now hear the arguments.[16]

Bayard began the debate. He answered the main point which Blount's counsel had raised — that Blount was not a civil officer within the constitutional definition. The framers had specified that the "President, Vice-President, and all civil officers" of the United States are impeachable.[17]

11. Letter from James Madison to Jefferson, Aug. 24, 1797, Madison Papers, discusses Dawson's information.

12. The evidence is in *Annals of Congress*, 5th Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 2324-2416.

13. *Ibid.*, 2d Sess., pp. 919, 947-57.

14. *Ibid.*, 3d Sess., p. 2245.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 2247-48. These pages include the other parts of the plea, but the arguments centered about a congressman's status as a civil officer within the context of constitutional and common law.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 2248. Circumstances placed Bayard in opposition to his teacher of law in Philadelphia in 1786, Jared Ingersoll.

17. Article II, Section 4. From common law, Bayard advanced the doctrine of universal impeachability. *Annals of Congress*, 5th Cong., 3rd Sess., pp. 2253-54.

Bayard was positive that a congressman was a civil officer and subject to impeachment. After all, said Bayard, we see a senator ". . . acting as a Legislator, an Executive Magistrate, and a Judge, and yet we are told that he is not an officer. May I ask, what an office is?" The Northwest Ordinance of 1787, said Bayard, used the words office and officer in relation to the legislative branch. It seemed obvious to Bayard that the authors of our Constitution employed these terms in a similar vein.

And if the defense claimed that the President must commission all officers, Bayard could point to the fact that the President is himself an officer, yet holds no commission. Many officers held no commissions from the President, but were appointed by jurists and by Congress itself.[18]

Yes, Bayard admitted, the Constitution says that ". . . no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office."[19] Did this prove Blount's counsel right—that a senator was not a civil officer? Bayard denied this. He held that congressmen were officers of the government, not under it. Like the President, they were civil officers of the United States and subject to impeachment.[20]

Bayard pleaded for a broad interpretation of the Constitution. Look to the effects of a narrow view, of a decision holding congressmen not civil officers, of exempting them from impeachment. The gates of Congress would remain open to unscrupulous offenders against the public trust. It would be a ". . . solecism in politics, an absurdity in reason."[21]

His argument completed, Bayard relinquished the floor to Blount's counsel. Dallas cited the Constitution and point-

18. *Annals of Congress*, 5th Cong., 3d Sess., pp. 2254-55, 2257. Since the Blount impeachment decided that any elected official is not a civil officer, Bayard was wrong in defining the presidential office as a civil office. Of course, the Constitution specifically permits the impeachment of a President.

19. Article I, Section 6.

20. *Annals of Congress*, 5th Cong., 3d Sess., pp. 2257-58.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 2259.

ed to the ambiguous manner in which it treated the term civil officer. He, too, emphasized Article One, Section Six:

> No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States . . . . and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

What could be stronger, asked Dallas, than the language of the Constitution itself? To Dallas, but one definition of a civil officer could exist; anyone appointed and commissioned by the President of the United States.[22]

The main arguments were now before the Senate, repeated, emphasized, and extended by Ingersoll and Harper. For three days the Senate debated the question of accepting or rejecting the defense counsels' plea for dismissal of Blount's trial. If the Senate accepted this plea, the impeachment ended. If it was rejected, the impeachment would continue.[23]

On January 10, 1799, acting in its judicial capacity as judges in an impeachment trial, the Senate voted on a motion declaring Blount to be a civil officer and overruling the plea of his counsel. Eleven senators, all Federalists, all except one representing states north of the Mason-Dixon line, voted to accept the motion and to proceed with the impeachment. Fourteen members, of both parties and from all sections, cast their ballots against the motion.[24] Thomas Jefferson, Vice-President and presiding judge, read the court's ruling:

> that the matter alleged in the plea of the defendant is sufficient in law to show that this Court ought not to hold jurisdiction of the said impeachment, and that the said impeachment is dismissed.[25]

By this decision, the Senate divested itself of the power of impeaching its own members, for they were not civil of-

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 2262-78. It is ably treated in Raymond Walters, *Alexander James Dallas* (Philadelphia, 1943), pp. 108-10.

23. *Annals of Congress*, 5th Cong., 3d Sess., pp. 2278-2318.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 2318.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 2319. On Jan. 5, 1799, Jefferson had predicted the outcome; see his note of that date in the Jefferson Papers (MSS in the Library of Congress).

ficers.[26] Would this decision stand, would congressmen find themselves subject to laws pertaining to civil officers in the future?

More than half a century passed, and the Blount impeachment merged into the stream of history. New men, new issues, new parties, replaced those of Bayard's time. He himself went on to a higher station in the Senate and in the treaty conferences at Ghent performed his greatest services for his country. Bayard died in 1815, but his name reappeared in 1863, when his son, James A. Bayard, became a senator from Delaware.

It was a vastly different country that the younger Bayard viewed. It was greater in size and population, stronger in its resources, but weak from sectional divisions which compromises could not contain. Now the Union was engaged in civil war, and Bayard's Democratic party was a recalcitrant minority in a Congress dominated by the Republican party.

From the day Sumter fell, Northern legislators had sought to punish treason, combat internal disaffection, and demarcate the disloyal from the loyal. The chief expression of this effort was a loyalty oath — contemporaries labelled it the iron clad test oath. By its terms, all civil and military officers of the federal government, excepting only the President and Vice-President, were required to swear that they had not voluntarily borne arms against the Union, yielded voluntary support to rebel forces, or held any office under Confederate authority. In addition, the affiant pledged his future loyalty to the Union. No federal officer could commence his duties, or receive salary, until this oath was filed; false swearers faced the penalties of perjury and perpetual disqualification from government office.[27]

26. See, for example, Alexander Simpson, Jr., *A Treatise on Federal Impeachments* (Philadelphia, 1916), pp. 34, 40-41, 45, 63.

27. July 2, 1862, *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XII, 502-3. William A. Russ, Jr., "Congressional Disfranchisement, 1866-1898," (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Department of History, University of Chicago, 1933), p. 4, terms this law "the backbone of the disfranchising system for the next thirty years."

Did this oath apply to congressmen? If it did, the South could never hope to see its leaders in Congress if the nation were ever re-united; the doors of Congress would remain closed to almost every white Southerner.[28]

During the debate on the passage of the test oath law, congressmen had considered the question of its applicability to themselves. Bayard and his Delaware colleague, Willard Saulsbury, had voiced their opposition to the oath measure, and their determined stand resulted in a Senate amendment to the bill excepting congressmen from its provisions.[29] But a joint conference committee dropped the amendment of Delaware's senators; by implication the committee, and the Congress which passed the final draft, approved of congressmen's taking that oath; one may infer from such an omission that congressmen were civil officers.[30]

But it was only by implication; the debates were indecisive, congressmen confused, the question unanswered. All that was certain was that neither senators nor representatives swore to the iron clad oath immediately after its passage.[31]

Lyman Trumbull and Charles Sumner, loyalty-conscious Republican senators from Illinois and Massachusetts, observed this lack of compliance with increasing irritation. They insisted that senators take the oath, and they won a substantive victory. On March 5, 1863, all the senators present swore to their past loyalty.[32]

Bayard was absent on that day. When he returned to his seat, he made no move to take the oath. His was the only

28. See Sidney Andrews, *The South Since the War* (Boston, 1866), p. 373, where he records the conviction of a Southern Unionist that the test oath would keep the best men of the South out of Congress.

29. For the debate, see *Congressional Globe*, 37th Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 2693-95, 2861-62, 2871-73.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 2940, 3012, 3055.

31. Nathaniel Weyl, *Treason: The Story of Disloyalty and Betrayal in American History* (Washington, D. C., 1950), p. 278, makes the error of stating that the original test oath act of 1862 required congressmen to subscribe it.

32. Charles Sumner, *Complete Works* (Statesman Edition; Boston, 1900), X, 275-76. Cited hereafter as Sumner, *Works*.

hand which had not been raised, the only name not inscribed beneath the declaration of past fidelity to the Union. Every other senator, Republican or Democrat, had accepted voluntary subscription to the iron clad oath.

Bayard's recalcitrance angered Sumner. The Massachusetts Senator offered a resolution requiring the mandatory use of the test oath by all senators—a move obviously aimed at Bayard. For a full month the senators debated the subject, centering their attention on the question of the applicability of the test oath to congressmen.[33] The chief contenders in this wordy battle were, clearly, Sumner and Bayard. Their arguments present a representative sampling of the entire debate.

Bayard placed his main reliance on the argument that a senator was not a civil officer within the meaning of the Constitution and of the test oath law.[34] For proof, he resorted primarily to an historical precedent: the Blount impeachment trial of 1798-1799. Bayard cited Blount's case to show that Congress had held Blount not subject to impeachment, because, as a senator, he was not a civil officer of the United States. As Dallas had done during the Blount trial, Bayard pointed to Article One, Section Six, of the Constitution, which prohibited congressmen from holding civil offices during their terms as legislators.[35] A senator, according to Bayard, holds ". . . a station, a trust, [but] not an office within the meaning of the Constitution."[36] It was as much a position under the

33. *Congressional Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 48-49; Sumner, *Works*, X, 278.

34. Bayard questioned the legality of the test oath law itself, a view upheld by the Supreme Court when Congress applied that oath to attorneys in the federal courts; *Ex parte Garland*, 4 Wallace, 333 (1867). He also denied that the oath was a legitimate qualification for a senator on the ground that it violated the spirit of the official oath for the President as set forth in the Constitution. Hence, the (1862) law requiring the oath was unconstitutional, and must lead, Bayard thought, to despotic action by Congress since it was both retrospective and expurgatory. "The Constitution authorizes an oath appealing to the conscience alone for the future performance of duty. The oath [of 1862] . . . makes it a necessary qualification that he shall purge himself as to his past conduct under a penalty." See Bayard's *Speech . . . Against the Validity of the Test Oath* (Philadelphia, 1864), pp. 4, 9, 15-18.

35. Bayard, *Speech*, pp. 25-26.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

authority of the states as it was under that of the central government. Bayard reasoned from the Constitution, appealed to the senator's logic, and to history — a senator was not a civil officer, and could not, by a rule of the Senate, be forced to swear to an oath designed for civil officers.[37]

Sumner rose to answer Bayard, to defend his proposed rule. Of course, he asserted, a senator was a civil officer. Sumner held in his hands the Congressional Blue Book, and raised it high for the assembled senators to examine. That registry included congressmen in its listing of federal officers. He, like the elder Bayard during the Blount impeachment, examined the constitutions of several states, and showed that they included legislators within the category of civil officers. But if Sumner adopted the reasoning of the prosecuting counsel in the Blount case, he rejected the conclusion which the Senate had reached on that occasion. So far as Sumner was concerned, the Blount precedent decided merely that a senator was not liable to impeachment.[38]

By a partisan vote of twenty-eight to eleven, Sumner's resolution passed the Senate and became a standing rule of that body.[39] The following day, January 26, 1864, Bayard swore to the oath against which he had fought so long. After taking the iron clad oath, he rose to address the Senate, knowing that it was for the last time.

Gravely, Bayard resigned his Senate seat. He would not remain a member of the group which had approved the use of the test oath in a manner Bayard held repugnant to the laws and spirit of the land. His words reviewed the lengthy arguments against that oath. Bayard acknowledged that he alone among the Democratic senators had felt the test oath of sufficient importance to warrant the course he had chosen. Now a majority of the Senate had approved Sumner's rule; it was a prerequisite for all senators. Bayard felt it was his duty to take that oath—to obey the majority vote. But he felt

37. *Ibid., passim.*

38. *Congressional Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 325-26.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 331.

also that it was his privilege and his duty to disassociate himself from the body which had passed the law and applied the rule.[40]

"Your decision," Bayard told the assembled senators, "inflicts a vital wound upon free . . . government." He would not remain a senator and thus indirectly sanction the propriety of the test oath law as applied to congressmen. For Bayard could not doubt that:

> . . . the precedent now made will be followed, and . . . [he] regard[ed] all test-oaths as useless and demoralizing acts of tyranny. . . . They are the first weapons young oppression learns to handle; weapons the more odious since, though barbed and poisoned, neither strength nor courage is necessary to wield them.[41]

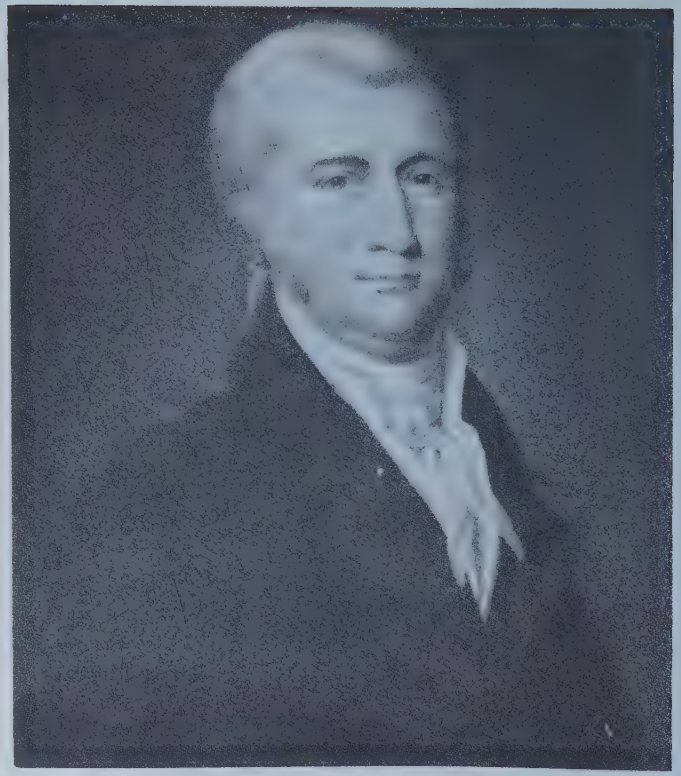
Sumner won; the test oath forced Bayard from the Senate. In the dark years of reconstruction which were to come the test oath would serve Radical aims by disfranchising many Southerners from office and ballot. Yet Sumner's logic was wrong, his reasoning erroneous, his victory based on a misreading of the law.

Sumner's success in applying the test oath to congressmen as civil officers of the United States never became a valid precedent. It must be considered merely as one of the deviations of the Civil War and its aftermath. But Sumner was not the only person to err in considering congressmen as civil officers. We have seen that even today people call for the

40. Bayard, *Speech*, pp. 30-34.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 33. Note that the test oath law (of July 2, 1862) was never reviewed by the courts; see footnote 34, above. The House adopted the test oath requirement for representatives in December, 1863, without debate or comment; see *Congressional Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 7. In Ritter *v.* United States, 300 U. S. 668 (1937), the Supreme Court reaffirmed the old doctrine that Senate rulings when the latter body sits in its judicial capacity are not subject to review by the courts. Further proof of Bayard's perspicacity on the loyalty oath issue lies in the partisan use made of these oaths by the Radicals during Reconstruction. On this point, note the laws of 1868 and 1871, U. S. *Statutes at Large*, XV, 85, and XVI, 412, which altered the oaths to attestations of future loyalty only for those specifically designated by Congress. For a few years, such laws were a fine means of maintaining Radical control of the federal legislature as they permitted those in control to distinguish between candidates for congressional seats who were involved in disputed elections, and to keep out of Congress those who could not meet Republican standards of party and national fidelity.

impeachment of national legislators. The Blount case has set the correct precedent which has endured: congressmen are not civil officers, and, therefore, are not impeachable. Two Bayards, a half century apart, argued this issue. From these deliberations, there has come a clear answer to a complex question.



JAMES A. BAYARD, SR.

JAMES A. BAYARD, JR.

The two senators from Delaware, father and son, served during two periods of crisis of this country: 1797-1813, and 1851-1864, 1867-69, respectively. The engraving of the senior Bayard (1767-1815) was made from the portrait by Adolph Wertmuller, which is in the possession of Mrs. William S. Hilles, Ommelanden, Delaware. A portrait in profile of the senator by St.-Memin, was reproduced in the September, 1952, issue of Delaware History.

The photograph of James A. Bayard, Jr. (1799-1880), made by a Wilmington studio, is in the possession of the Historical Society of Delaware.

SIGNING THE PLEDGE

The original lithograph, drawn and published in 1846 by J. Ropes, delineates the goal of the Sons of Washington, a national temperance society, which had local chapters in Delaware, see pp. 244, below. The individual's signature and his pledge of abstinence was believed by the Washingtonians to be the key to all reform. The artist dedicated his print "To the Washingtonians of the United States ... commemorative of their Declaration of Independence from the

Rum and Reform: Temperance in Delaware Politics

By Charles H. Bohner*

DURING the unseasonably cold autumn of 1856, a Wilmington merchant named Wesley Talley occasionally noted in his diary events whose repercussions rumbled ominously beneath the placid surface of Delaware life. A member of the expanding mercantile class of northern Delaware, he became increasingly sensitive to the growing division between commercial New Castle County and the traditional agricultural interests of Kent and Sussex. A devout Methodist, he had attempted to reconcile his search for wealth with his search for God by channeling his evangelism into the movement for prohibition of the "wretched traffic" in intoxicating liquors. He had watched the temperance movement begin as a religious crusade and progress from social organization for "moral suasion" to political prohibition. Talley had rejoiced in 1855 at the passage of the Delaware version of the Maine Law, but blind to its political consequences, he had viewed with dismay its abrupt collapse. When the Democrats swept the state in 1856 on the issue of repeal, Talley confided to his diary that "the present legislature will give the people rum in abundance and will legislate for wretchedness, misery, sin, and eternal death."[1]

The prohibitory law of 1855 was the climax of half a century of agitation and organization. Like all social movements, this reform was complicated by a variety of factors, often apparently contradictory, determining its varying course and ultimate goal. People were drawn into its ranks by a bewildering number of motives, as the wide range of its pro-

*Charles H. Bohner, a native of Wilmington, is a member of the faculty of the Department of English, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York.

1. Wesley Talley, "Diary," Nov. 6, 1856 (MS book in the library of the Historical Society of Delaware).

paganda attests. Yet the diverse groups that united around the standard of temperance all shared the firm faith in the "progressive spirit of the age."[2] Progress was in the air; no goals were too high. The old Federalist conservatism that had clung to Delaware throughout the decade of the eighteen-twenties was giving way to a more buoyant and optimistic mood. Emotions, incited by the bombastic oratory and florid prose of the period, ran high, and reformers saw in the not too distant future the realization of their cherished goals. Delawareans such as Talley easily identified King Alcohol with the forces of darkness and retrogression, and temperance with the forces of light and progress. The editor of an established and conservative newspaper confidently predicted that "the tide of drunkenness will roll back from our land, the plague will be stayed in our borders, and the moral aspect of society will brighten as the glorious work goes on."[3]

Since the glorious work at times proved halting and dilatory, the impatience of the crusaders was equalled only by their barbarism in debate. During the early years of the nineteenth century the word "temperance" retained its original connotations of moderation and self-control. Early almanacs advised farmers, under the heading of "Intemperance," to drink only in moderation, painting a stark picture of the effects of over-indulgence.[4] Yet as the movement toward control gained headway, more and more the word came to mean not moderation but total abstinence. As the zeal of the crusaders heightened, the irresponsible called for nothing short of a total and sweeping reform. Nothing would satisfy them short of total abstinence, abolition of the liquor traffic, and repeal of the license laws.

The custom of the social glass,[5] however, was too deeply

2. This phrase appears often in the Delaware press and correspondence of the period.

3. *Delaware Gazette* (Wilmington), Feb. 16, 1841.

4. *The Delaware and Maryland Almanac* (Robert Porter, Wilmington), scattered numbers, 1823-34, *passim*.

5. Cf. *Gazette*, Jan. 3, 1854. The editor suggested as a new year's resolution that Delawareans "should by all means, where it can be done without a breach of good manners, refrain from inviting those to participate in the social glass, who are wont to abuse the use thereof to their own condecension [*sic*] and shame."

rooted to be easily deracinated by either persuasion or legislation. Colonial Delaware shared the tolerant, even benevolent, attitude toward liquor of its neighboring states. So closely did business and pleasure become associated with drinking, that the town tavern became a social center. While lower Delaware was predominantly rural, the town of Wilmington, on a main thoroughfare between Philadelphia and Baltimore, became famous for its taverns. The Foul Anchor and The Indian King gained in reputation as the sleepy town awoke to the new speed of commerce and prospering industry.

This liberal attitude toward liquor was sanctioned by the local government. In 1783, excitement at the successful conclusion of the Revolution reached such a high pitch that the president of Delaware State authorized the buying of liquor for a celebration of the citizenry.[6] So persistent was this attitude that forty years later three men found it necessary to offer a resolution in the borough council of Wilmington protesting "the precedent of bringing Wine, or any other Liquor into Council Chamber and drinking the same at the expense of the public."[7]

The legislation directed toward the liquor traffic was motivated by a desire for control for the public benefit rather than restriction. Since spiritous as well as malt liquors were considered an integral part of the daily diet, their sale was naturally associated with the furnishing of entertainment to travelers. The town of Wilmington had steadily increasing demands made upon it due to its location near increasing commercial activity. The legislature early appreciated the social importance of this trade and desired to utilize its possibilities for the best interests of the community. In 1740 an act was passed regulating inn holders, tavern keepers, and public house keepers. Under the provisions of the statute, the inn-keeper —supposedly "a fit person and well qualified for keeping a tavern"— was prohibited from giving credit to minors and

6. Public Archives Commission, *Delaware Archives* (Wilmington, 1919), III, 1483.

7. A. T. Lincoln, *Wilmington, Delaware, Three Centuries Under Four Flags, 1609-1937* (Rutland, Vt., 1937), p. 152.

fined for allowing "drinking and tippling in his or her house at any unseasonable hours of the night, or suffer[ing] drunkenness, corrupt or unlawful gaming with cards, dice, or at other games."[8] The legislature restricted the traffic in liquor for the revenue, together with the desire for preventing personal excess and public disorders; but with the exception of the American Indian,[9] there was no thought of prohibition.

The origins of the temperance reform in Delaware are found in these early efforts to regulate the liquor traffic and control individual excess. Although a time of toleration toward drinking, these early years were punctuated by the first voices raised in protest at the custom by widely scattered and largely ineffectual clergymen and physicians.

The pervasive attitude that deemed liquor a "capital remedy"[10] for many of the diseases of the time was first challenged by Philadelphia's Doctor Benjamin Rush.[11] Following his lead the medical profession struck a blow at the very foundation of the drinking habit in America by not only denying the food value of spiritous liquors but charging that drunkenness was the direct cause of many diseases. During the first years of the nineteenth century Rush's findings became more widely disseminated, and they furnished factual ammunition for the early reformers. An example is the speech of one Doctor J. Chandler before a Wilmington temperance society in 1835. Marshalling the arguments of Rush and a host of now obscure medical men, he attempted to drive home the injurious effects of habitual tippling. The speech contained liberal portions of morbidity and terror, apparently designed to frighten the toper into abstinence.

8. *Laws of the State of Delaware . . . 1700-1797* (New Castle, 1797), I, 192-96.

9. Samuel Hazard, *Annals of Pennsylvania from the Discovery of the Delaware, 1609-1682* (Philadelphia, 1850), pp. 372, 387, 418.

10. James Tilton, *Economical Observations on Military Hospitals . . .* (Wilmington, 1813), p. 59. Tilton attributed his recovery from "jail fever" to the cure effected by the gift from "a benevolent lady of the neighborhood [who] sent me several gallons of excellent wine."

11. Benjamin Rush, *An Inquiry into the Effects of Spirituous Liquors on the Human Body and Mind* (Philadelphia, 1781).

> The lasting and baneful effects [he declared] which result to the constitution of persons who indulge in habitual potations of alcoholic liquors, are a standing series of facts testifying that frequent draughts of ardent spirits are baneful to health, and consequently render the subject alternately peevish and morose — gloomy and desponding — malicious and envious — and obstinate, jealous, and quarrelsome — functional disease of the liver is soon manifested — dispepsia attends — hectic cough arises — the body becomes bloated — the eyes suffused — nervous tremors usher in mania potu — convulsions and death close the sad scene.[12]

The gradually increasing attacks from medical men reflected the eighteenth century rational humanitarianism in which drinking was a physical, rather than a religious or moral, evil. During the opening years of the nineteenth century, however, a perceptible change could be seen in the attitude of Delawareans. Buried in between weather predictions and crop information, the widely circulated farm almanacs printed vivid descriptions of the evils of dissipation, short quotations from the ever increasing lectures, statistics on intemperance, and doggerel verse.[13] And in the almanacs of these years is found an attack on the "sin" of drink. Here was an explicit statement of the moral question, a question which led the church to come to grips with the problem of drink and its relationship to religion.

From its origins after the Revolution until its climax in the eighteen-fifties, the temperance movement in Delaware was strongly colored by evangelical religion. The clergy early stepped to the fore as spokesmen for a revivalistic faith concerned with the welfare of every man. The more zealous ascribed to all mankind a vested interest in each other's moral, intellectual, and physical perfection. Intemperance was a sin that weighed upon the conscience of the sober, as well as upon the immortal soul of the drunkard.

The Quakers were influential in the northern part of the

12. Dr. J. P. Chandler, *An Address Delivered before the Brandywine & Sims' Vill Temperance So[ciety] . . . 1835* (n. p., n. d.), p. 3.

13. *The Columbian Almanac: or, the North-American Calendar . . .* (Peter Brynberg, Wilmington), scattered numbers from 1811 to 1835.

state, converting many by exemplary conduct as well as others who found it expedient to align themselves on the side of political power.[14] These single-minded spokesmen of humanitarianism early spoke out against excessive drinking, reasoning from the utilitarian premise which held intemperance to be a major cause of poverty. Led by such outstanding leaders as Warner Mifflin,[15] the resolute example of the Delaware Quakers was the greater in that they influenced many outside their ranks.

While the Quakers of New Castle advocated resistance to intemperance by precept and example, the Presbyterians led the campaign to carry the battle into the realm of King Alcohol. In 1817 the presbytery advised sessions to "exercise much vigilance and fidelity in guarding the Ordinances of 'baptism' and the 'Lord's Supper' from the approach of habitual and occasional drunkards." The serving of liquor at the New Castle County presbytery persisted until 1828, but by 1833 resolutions were accepted for the clergy to present a more solid front in promoting this "great and good cause," and to encourage the formation of societies for the suppression of a vice "flowing and swelling and poisoning the fruits of morality."[16]

In the lower counties of Kent and Sussex individual clergymen of the dominant Church of England had made efforts to control "Epidemical" drunkenness.[17] When the power of the Established Clergy declined under the tension of revolution, Methodism made significant advances on the peninsula through the leadership of Bishop Francis Asbury, Dr. Thomas Coke, and such remarkably able native preachers

14. W. S. Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (n. p., 1878), V (Delaware), 61-62.

15. Hilda Justice, *Life and Ancestry of Warner Mifflin* . . . (Philadelphia, 1905), p. 40.

16. "Records of the Presbytery of New Castle," VI, 48, 308 (MS book in the library of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania); G. E. Jones, *Lower Brandywine and Its Pastors . . . 1720 to 1876* (Wilmington, 1876), p. 59; *Minutes of the Presbytery of New Castle: April, 1833* (n. p., n. d.), pp. 3, 7.

17. Perry, *Historical Collections*, V, 86, 90.

as Freeborn Garrettson. By a rule of 1743 all Methodists in good standing were subject to disciplinary measures for "drunkenness, buying or selling spiritous liquors, or using them, unless in cases of extreme necessity." While these admonitions were largely ignored, the leaders of the church never slackened their zeal. Lodging in the inns and public houses, the peripatetic circuit riders were brought into close contact with the more disgusting manifestations of the casual attitude toward drink. At the Christmas conference of 1784 the church adopted a stringent rule prohibiting ministers and traveling preachers from drinking intoxicating liquors, except when used as a medicine. Although some distrusted Methodist "excitement," the emotional appeal of the camp meeting caught the mood of post-revolutionary Delaware, and the church undoubtedly did much to popularize temperance in the rural areas.[18]

The pervasive influence of the church on the early temperance movement was manifested in the first state convention, held at Milford in 1833. Meeting in a Methodist church, the twenty-seven societies, distributed about equally from the three counties, elected for their president, Judge Willard Hall, president of the local chapter of the American Bible Society. The executive committee, dominated by clergymen, drew up resolutions condemning the liquor traffic as an "immorality" and concluded "that with truth and love on their side, *a few good men devoted to the work,* are mighty through God in correcting error and stemming the tide of evil: and that this convention, therefore, recommend the formation of temperance societies in every place, and say to the friends of temperance 'wait not for the whole community — wait not for the majority to move: tho' only two or three in number,

18. W. W. Sweet, *Methodism in American History* (New York, 1933), pp. 170-71; W. W. Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier* (Chicago, 1946), IV, 19; Henry Wheeler, *Methodism and the Temperance Reformation* (Cincinnati, 1882), p. 45; John Firth, *The Experience and Gospel Labours of the Rev. Benjamin Abbott* (New York, 1820), p. 77; Nathan Bangs, *The Life of the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson* (New York, 1838), *passim;* letter from C. S. Ridgely to Elizabeth Ridgely, Dec. 18, 1829, Ridgely Papers (Delaware State Archives, Dover, Delaware).

lift up a standard and go forward; for wherever two or three are gathered in a good cause, Heaven is with them.' "[19]

When the fervor of the early thirties was showing signs of hesitancy and discouragement, fresh impetus was given to the reform by the Washingtonian movement. Its appeal was based chiefly on the emotional lectures of reformed drunkards, the speeches being highly colored accounts of debauchery and conversion to cold water.[20] So successful was their performance in Wilmington, one citizen remembered in retrospect that "meetings were held in every available place, addresses were delivered by reformed drunkards, and hundreds were induced to sign the total abstinence pledge."[21] Spurred on by these dramatic examples, reformers whipped enthusiasm to a fine heat by carefully planned demonstrations. During the winter of 1842, the proprietor of the White Horse Hotel, having become allied with the movement, sold his stock of liquor to the Jefferson Temperance Society and hung out a temperance sign. Cleverly publicizing their program, the crusaders assembled at the Temperance Hall, marched through the main streets, and burned the liquor on a bonfire in the heart of the city. So prodigious was the crowd that doors, windows, pavements, and open lots within view of the fire were jammed. One observer had "no recollection of such a crowd of our citizens at any previous time."[22]

Following in the wake of the Washingtonians were a long series of grandiloquent cold water orators. Lurid tales of depravity and conversion, the stock in trade of the temperance lecturer, had a morbid and sentimental appeal. The astonishing success of the "eloquent and effective" John Gough, whose "ranting was tremendous," encouraged many

19. "Proceedings of the Convention of the Delaware State Temperance Society, held at Milford, May 1, 1833" (MSS in the Delaware State Archives).

20. J. A. Krout, *The Origins of Prohibition* (New York, 1925), p. 182.

21. Letter from E. Banning to Nicholas Ridgely, Apr. 13, 1840, Ridgely Papers. For an illustration of the pledge, see below, p. 269.

22. *Delaware State Journal* (Wilmington), Jan. 25, 28, 1842. Cf. the eye witness account of this episode in Theophilus K. Jones, *Recollections of Wilmington from 1845 to 1860* (Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, No. 52 [Wilmington, 1909], pp. 9-10). It is significant that the incident made such a vivid impression on Jones, although he apparently confused the date, quoting 1843 for 1842.

lesser men to enter the field. Ministers of the gospel kept up a constant barrage from the pulpit, politicians found the cause an outlet for their talents between campaigns, and physicians grasped the opportunity to proclaim their own anatomical researches into the ravages of Demon Rum. A shrewd concoction of fustian, mimicry, and bathos, the technique of the most famous of them was acidly appraised by one observer as of a "style and manner well calculated to arrest the attention of those to whom his mission is most useful but it is shocking to good taste." Wesley Talley, however, praised Gough's "happy power of mimicry," a power that "would chain [the audience] down with breathless silence and again convulse them with burst[s] of laughter."[23] By the very nature of their highly emotional appeal, the successes of these advocates were destined to be short lived. Yet they accomplished a definite service for the cause by the widespread publicity they attracted.

The more farsighted of the reformers desired to consolidate their gains by the movement for organized societies. The temperance society was but one facet of the feverish desire for organization that the French observer, de Tocqueville, believed so characteristic of American society.[24] Formed in Delaware as early as 1828,[25] at bottom these clubs were organized for social companionship. They soon began to stratify along social lines, and the desire for an exclusive clique led the founders to introduce esoteric hand clasps, passwords, a black ball system, and other abracadabra. The love of coterie was reflected in the hierarchy of officers, the elaborate constitutions designating a long list of elective officials, often selected every four months.[26] Realizing the value of cen-

23. Anna Ferris, "Diary," Feb. 19, 1856 (MS book in the library of the Historical Society of Delaware); Talley, "Diary," Feb. 18, 1856. Cf. *Journal*, Feb. 15, 1856; *Gazette*, Dec. 25, 1846.

24. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York, 1946), I, 250; II, 106-8.

25. Letter from Cornelius P. Comegys to Henry M. Ridgely, Jan. 21, 1828, Ridgely Papers.

26. *Constitution, By-Laws, and the Rules of Order of . . . the Sons of Temperance* (Wilmington, 1847).

tralized control, representatives of the various groups assembled thrice a year at the county meeting and annually at the state convention. One highly successful organization, the Sons of Temperance, was established on a national scale. A chapter was opened in Wilmington in 1845, and after reaching a peak membership of almost eight hundred in 1847, it rapidly declined toward the end of the decade.[27]

The primary purpose of these societies was the mutual encouragement of the members down the straight and narrow path of total abstinence and the giving of aid to a relapsing brother who fell by the wayside. To this end the social committees sponsored a wide range of activities to supplant the grog shop as a social center. In addition, the members often assumed such burdens as helping defray funeral expenses, caring for the sick, or, during the Civil War, aiding the dependents of an enlistee.[28] The clubs were uncompromising toward backsliders. Alcoholism was not a disease in 1840; it sprang from a lack of "character" and "virtue." The too frequent tippler was regarded with more impatience than tolerance. Violation of a prescribed number of offences meant expulsion.

An excellent indication of the influence and prestige of the temperance movement in Delaware during the 1840's and 1850's is revealed in the manner in which the societies usurped the rituals associated with the annual celebration of independence. By 1851, older residents nostalgically remembered when "the fourth of July was celebrated in these woods, not by a political clique, but as a national day of joy."[29] An optimistic younger generation, never having known domination by a British king, was infected by that potent doctrine of progress that turned their eyes forward to the "glorious" day of

27. *Report of the National Division of the Order of the Sons of Temperance* (Philadelphia, 1845-59).

28. J. T. Scharf, *History of Delaware, 1609-1888* (Philadelphia, 1888), I, 337*n*; "Constitution and By-Laws of the Temperance Beneficial Association of Wilmington and Brandywine, Wilmington, 1838" (Delaware State Archives).

29. Elizabeth Montgomery, *Reminiscences of Wilmington* . . . (Wilmington, 1851), p. 78.

independence from the tyrannous reign of King Alcohol. The parade on this national sabbath was the climax of their social year. Floats and banners entreated all to "Sign the Pledge and be a Free Man" and proclaimed "Cold Water Forever." Hundreds of gayly costumed children followed the band to the picnic grove near Wilmington to hear the orator of the day. In conclusion, many of the societies, paying homage to a waning ecclesiastical tie, marched off to the church to hear a discourse — undoubtedly on the temperate habits of the founding fathers. Although the editor of a local paper felt sure this display foretokened "a great change for the better," the same day, a tavern keeper was killed in a brawl where "some of the participants had their ears bitten off," suggesting that the announcement of a utopia was still premature.[30]

As the Cold Water Army formed ranks for the frontal assault on Demon Rum, reinforcements from an heretofore overlooked source appeared to swell the ranks. The same spirit that called on society to aid the drunkard back to a responsible role as a member of society must protest the "subordinate role" of the female in the United States. Since it was often the wife and children who most immediately suffered from the iniquities of the drunkard, the advocates of feminism now joined forces with the men in the new cause. In 1837 more than six hundred women signed a petition to City Council requesting the suppression of superfluous taverns. Four years later the editor of the local paper reminded the ladies that they do "more than man in regulating and giving tone to the moral sentiments of mankind . . . . To the mother we say, you are deeply interested in the welfare of your children . . . . Then to avoid the ruin of your hopes, be careful to inculcate on their minds the strictest principles of temperance and virtue, for it is from the youth of our land that recruits are taken to fill up the broken ranks in the army of drunkards."

In 1843 the Wilmington Female Temperance Benevolent Society, pledged to the cold water method of total ab-

30. *Gazette*, July 8, 1842; *Journal*, July 8, 1842.

stinence, was organized with six hundred pledged members. Soon the Daughters of Temperance organized on lines similar to the secret society of their brothers. As the crusade moved into its political phase, the ladies compensated for the lack of a voice through the ballot by concentrating on petitions to the legislature. As society began more and more to sanction the entrance of women into the crusade, the ladies caught up the standard with a heedlessness of political consequences. When Neal Dow, sometime mayor of Portland and father of the Maine Law, spoke in Wilmington in 1853, the papers reported a large number of ladies present, the practice becoming "quite fashionable."[31]

The fact that the critics of intemperance were able to make their cause "fashionable" illuminates one of the major problems, and victories, of the movement. It was early recognized that to make progress it would be necessary to overcome an inveterate and formidable custom. The left wing of the crusade, those pledged to "Ultraism," clung tenaciously to the belief that the first drink led irrevocably to dissipation. Their most vigorous efforts, therefore, were directed at the custom of the social glass.[32] For the process of re-education, the reformers flooded the state with a deluge of printed propaganda.

From the beginning of organized agitation until the passing of the prohibition law, there were sporadic attempts at a temperance newspaper.[33] Inspired, perhaps, by the great crusading editors of the era, the reformers' faith in the efficacy of newsprint produced in 1838 *The Standard: Devoted to Temperance, Education, and Agriculture.* Above the masthead it carried the legend: "Total Abstinence from all Intoxicants"; strong words for 1838. The small-sized sheet carried no advertisements but devoted its columns to cold

31. Lincoln, *Wilmington*, p. 152; *Gazette*, Feb. 16, 1841; Dec. 22, 1843; Feb. 6, 1846; Oct. 7, 1852; MS petitions to the Legislature (Delaware State Archives, Dover).

32. "Resolutions of the New Castle County Temperance Society," *Gazette*, July 14, 1843.

33. "Proceedings of the Convention of the Delaware State Temperance Society, 1833," Resolution No. XIII (Delaware State Archives).

water poetry, reprints from other antirum journals, and news that could be in any way related to the cause. So zealously did the editors enter into their venture in journalism, that the news seems to have been occasionally slanted to score a point. Many citizens, otherwise favorable to the movement, objected to receiving the paper even as a gift because of its extreme point of view. *The Standard,* like its successors, had an erratic and precarious history and ended by going on the financial rocks.[34]

Although the ultraists never lost faith in the temperance press, and the editors of the established semiweeklies often devoted their columns to pleas for moderation, fiction rapidly became the favorite form of antirum propaganda. While Delawareans read their share of the cold water novels that flooded the country in the eighteen-forties,[35] it was through the literary columns of the local press that they got the most persistent barrage. Short stories, complete in one issue or running serially in two or three installments, offered as entertainment a motley selection of stereotyped characters: intractable dipsomaniacs; abused yet patient wives; disillusioned sweethearts; persecuted or rejected children. Confined to themes of unrequited love, sordid poverty, and violent death, the stories were little more than thinly masked temperance truisms. Always founded on truth, the authors unfailingly explained that language was inadequate to describe the heinousness of drunken reality. It was a literature of extremes. The first sip led inexorably to depravity and death, usually by spontaneous combustion. Safety was only in total abstinence. Liquor was "poison, a vile emetic," usually served

34. *The Standard,* published weekly in Wilmington, shared the distinction of being one of the fourteen papers in the United States devoted to temperance at the time. E. H. Cherrington, *The Evolution of Prohibition in the United States* (Westerville, O., 1920), p. 122. Cf. letter of Samuel Ford in *Gazette,* Feb. 21, 1840, for attack on the paper's objectivity in reporting, and *Gazette,* Dec. 10, 1839, for financial troubles. In 1846 the *Delaware Temperance Herald* was published in Wilmington, and in 1851 the *Delaware Herald and Peninsular Advocate* was published in Smyrna. They were followed in 1863 by the more elaborate *Temperance Advocate and Educational Journal.*

35. H. R. Brown, *The Sentimental Novel in America, 1789-1860* (Durham, N. C., 1940), contains an informative and entertaining survey of the temperance novel of the Middle Period.

by a disguised Beelzebub behind the bar. Revealing a remarkable similarity, the favorite tableau exhibited a drunkard dying of pneumonia, repenting on his death bed amid the agonizing cries of his long suffering wife and the helpless blubbering of his children. A compound of waxworks realism, maudlin sentimentality, and morbidity, they fully deserve the anonymity into which they have fallen.[36]

The magazines occasionally joined in the chorus, their attempts to rise above homily to satire usually degenerating into invective and burlesque.[37] Theatrical managers quickly saw the appeal of the movement, and the familiar characters of temperance fiction staggered and wailed through five acts of *The Drunkard.* "This very popular and illustrative moral drama" played to packed houses in Wilmington in 1850 and 1851, "The moral effect of this piece . . . [being] obvious to all spectators."[38]

Delaware's poet laureate, Dr. John Lofland, or "The Milford Bard" as he was more popularly known, occasionally drew inspiration from the ideals of the teetotalers and optimistically embraced their millenarianism. If the world's worse verse is ever collected, it will undoubtedly contain all the doggerel inspired by the crusade, yet oceans of easy tears were shed over such limping lyrics as "The Damning Bowl."

> Oh! haste the hour when every voice
> To temperance shall the nations call,
> And millions of mankind rejoice
> To see the mighty demon fall!
> When temperance' banner o'er the free,
> By virtue's hand shall be unfurled—
> Oh! may it stand in liberty,
> And wave it o'er a sober world.

The high praise heaped on Delaware's "child of song"

36. Cf. "The Dying Drunkard," *Gazette,* Mar. 30, 1841; "The Wife's Desperation," *ibid.,* Mar. 26, 1847; "[A] Harmless Glass of Wine," *ibid.,* Nov. 13, 1849; "The Drunkard's Funeral," *ibid.,* Mar. 19, 1852.

37. *Delaware Register and Farmers' Magazine* (September, 1838), II, 162-63.

38. *Gazette,* Apr. 25, 1851; July 19, 1850.

is an index to the serious attitude entertained by Delawareans toward this verse.[39]

Not content with furnishing diversion for idle hours, the reformers attempted to get *The Temperance Reader* introduced into Wilmington schools. The contents were designed so that "whilst they interest and amuse the scholar, they infuse a horror of the evils of intemperance, and as a consequence produce a disposition to avoid the manifold woes and miseries of the greatest of curses that has fallen upon the human race."[40]

As the eighteen-fifties approached, the local printing presses continued to pour forth vast quantities of propaganda, orators racked their brains for more lurid metaphors with which to castigate Demon Rum, and societies spawned at an amazing rate. These elements of the reform still maintained the evangelical tone of the founders of the movement. They spoke often of the great victories of moral suasion and the efficacy of the Christian "diffusion of light and love." By throwing the bright light of truth into the murky shadows of vice, sin could be dispelled. Yet care must be taken not to offend the sensibilities of the sinner. The men who held this view dismissed as fatuous all talk of prohibiting a man from drinking by legislation.

As the turbid emotionalism of the forties gave way to the fifties, tempers grew taut. An ever increasing segment of the temperance men, seeing progress baffled by vacillating lovers of liquor, lost patience with exponents of persuasion and education. Moral suasion had been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Firm in their faith in written law, these extremists began to turn to politics to accomplish by coercion that goal frustrated by man's obstinate refusal to forsake the error of his ways.

The more astute observers of Delaware affairs had from

39. John Lofland, *The Poetical and Prose Writings of John Lofland, M. D., The Milford Bard* . . . (Baltimore, 1846), pp. 165-66. A Lexington, Kentucky, critic considered the Bard one of the "four most celebrated American poets." *Gazette*, Feb. 20, 1827.

40. *Gazette*, May 18, 1842.

the beginning of the movement warned against the pitfalls of translating a highly moral crusade into political action. Forcing temperance into the arena of party strife would, they argued, "prostitute a good and noble cause to low and selfish views and degrade it to a pitiful political faction." Yet from the beginning of the movement for organization, there had been a strong element desiring to "express the anti-grog sentiment at the polls."[41] As the crusade moved into the decade of the fifties, the gray scale of attitudes toward drink gave way to chiaroscuro emotions. The religious motif that characterized all phases of the reform was mirrored in the more fanatic members who quoted frequently Christ's admonition to the Pharisees: "He that is not with me is against me." The language of the leaders became more violent as their exasperation increased. "Moral suasion is naught," cried one. "Men have wearied in the contest; their panoply is well worn, and they have wrought in the heat of the day, but King Alcohol . . . still rides triumphantly."[42]

Delaware was dramatically divided geographically over the more radical reform measures. The upper county of New Castle, dominated by the rapidly growing commercial city of Wilmington, had a population approaching half the state. The particular problems of urbanization were already giving Wilmingtonians pause.[43] Large groups of free Negroes and foreigners were in many ways unassimilable and were frequently singled out by the reformers as flagrant examples of intemperance. The facility of assembly offered by the organization of city life stimulated the reform. Located on a main artery of transportation between major urban areas of the eastern seaboard, Wilmington was more readily exposed to the shifting social ideas of the period. The home of the major newspapers of the state, the press carried full reports

41. "Proceedings of the Convention of the Delaware State Temperance Society, 1833," Resolution VI, *Journal*, June 4, 1850.

42. Letter from Middletown to the editor of the *Gazette*, Mar. 28, 1854.

43. Cf. Constitution of the Temperance Beneficial Association (Delaware State Archives). "In the country drunkards are fewer, temptation less abundant, and the opportunities of temperance societies to extend their care more ample."

of the success of other areas in passing liquor legislation. This must have been strong tonic to the fanatic wing.[44] The city was growing manifestly northern in its sympathies, opening its halls to abolitionists and advocates of woman's rights,[45] while mercantile interests were brought into close contact with the industrial centers to the north.

In contrast, the two lower counties remained tenaciously conservative. The lack of adequate roads and a downstate railroad before 1856 kept them in comparative isolation. They eked out an existence from none too fertile soil and preserved a sturdy independence from the heady winds of reform.[46] Slavery was comparatively stronger in Sussex than in Kent, but the sympathies of both counties were patently southern. Suspicious of the growing wealth and size of industrial New Castle, they jealously guarded their proportional advantage in the legislature.

The majority of Delawareans — north and south — probably tolerated, if they did not encourage, efforts at combatting drunkenness by persuasion and instruction, but many considered prohibition a flagrant infringement by government on their personal liberty. The chasm between moral suasion and prohibition was too broad to be bridged by any appeal to expediency. Extremist sentiment brought into sharp focus one of the basic problems in a democracy: the nature and limits of the power which the state can legitimately exercise over the individual. The radicals, centered in New Castle and northern Kent, were certain of their Christian duty to attain for men what their power of will failed to accomplish. The highly emotional oratory, the lurid press, the canalizing of influence through the societies all had their effect. Not to be discounted was the importance of the canny politicos who were well aware that, should the voters drain liquor from the land under their guidance, they would be left high and dry

44. *North American and United States Gazette* (Philadelphia), Mar. 19, 1855.

45. During the winter of 1854-55, Theodore Parker, Lucretia Mott, and Lucy Stone, among others, spoke in Wilmington.

46. M. L. Ridgely, *What Them Befell . . .* (Portland, Me., 1949), p. 373.

in office. In the final analysis, it was this leadership that won a battle and lost the war.

Early political campaigns had not been free from charges of drunkenness. In the eighteenth century, a clergyman wrote from Dover that "the People in general are very loose. The party spirit that rages among them contributes not a little to this; each Party, in order to ingratiate themselves with the Populace, inviting them to Publick meetings, which are nothing but Scenes of Drunkenness and Debauchery."[47] In keeping with the general attitude of the times toward liquor, such denunciations were often ignored or turned to laughter. To the tune of *Yankee Doodle,* Federalist politicians in 1822, accused their opponents of imbibing and sang in ridicule:

Then rouse each valiant Democrat
Nor let the *Feds* out poll us,
For then we've nothing to be at,
But Brandy to console us.

Yankee Doodle, keep it up
Yankee doodle dandy,
Let us try another sup,
Damn it where's the brandy?[48]

The equating of intemperance with sin and the vigorous role of the clergy had blurred the relationship of temperance and politics, many believing the issues closer to personal conduct and morality. With the growth of manhood suffrage, and the wider dissemination of democratic ideas, it became increasingly obvious that a wise vote was a sober vote. The tendency of politicians to use taverns as headquarters for their political campaigns was particularly repugnant to the crusaders. Furthermore, government licensing of the grog shops seemed a tacit indorsement by the state of the liquor traffic.

These arguments were further augmented by the ever broadening humanitarian movement. A more critical generation, in analyzing the social conditions of the day, came

47. Perry, *Historical Collections,* V, 102.

48. *Gazette,* Oct. 1, 1822.

into close contact with the criminal, the insane, and the destitute. As the women of Delaware dispensed charity to the indigent, they were brought face to face with the problem of alcoholism as a contributing factor to these conditions.[49] Drunkenness seemed less a lack of "character" or "virtue" and more a result of environmental factors. During the winter of 1843 an aroused populace held a public meeting in Wilmington, and a committee submitted a lengthy and closely reasoned report condemning the intoxicated man as "in the moral, civil, and political spheres extensively pernicious." They charged that eighty to ninety cents of the tax dollar was spent for the results of drunkenness.[50] They condemned the laxity of the license system, the tavern keeper's habit of extending credit to tipplers, and they estimated that four-fifths of the expenses of government could be laid to intemperance.[51]

Reasoning from these premises, the next logical step was to interfere in politics. In 1838 the radical *Standard* was urging bipartisan support of candidates favorable to the cause and petitions to the legislature to obtain a "legal prohibition of the sale of alcoholic poison." The indulgent or indifferent, even amused, attitude the Delawarean held toward this mixing of politics and liquor sobered suddenly in the presidential campaign of 1840. Abruptly, the sullen rumblings of protest erupted. As the Whig machine was scandalously lubricated with hard cider, one observer complained that Whig conduct "strikes with fearful force at the root of temperance, and if not timely checked, it will lay prostrate the reform established after so many years of labor by good and moral persons."[52]

The growing agitation for reform by law gained ground throughout the decade of the eighteen-forties. In 1843 the House of Representatives was under enough public pressure

49. Anna Ferris, "Diary," Jan. 28, 1856.

50. Cf. *Gazette*, June 30, 1819. "19 out of 20 persons who were supported in the poor house of this county [New Castle] during the past winter have been addicted to intemperance." Also, charge to the grand jury in *ibid.*, May 12, 1854.

51. *Ibid.*, Jan. 29, 1843; *Journal*, Jan. 17, 1843.

52. *Standard*, Oct. 3, 1838; *Gazette*, July 21, 1840.

to appoint a committee to consider legislation. Returning a negative decision, they cited the failure of a Massachusetts law and called attention to the moral nature of the reform. If intemperance should be reduced to a petty misdemeanor, they argued, it would arouse new hostilities while the moral enthusiasm would die. Delawareans never intended that "the legislature would assume a rigid supervision of their habits, or thrust its hand into their private and social relations."

Undismayed by this rebuff, the drys revised their strategy. The plan was simple. Rather than form a third party, they sent a public letter to each candidate asking if he would support "a bill referring the question of licensing the traffic in intoxicating drinks to the people for their decision." The second stratagem was to bombard the legislature with petitions, thereby making use of the feminine element unable to voice its opinion at the ballot box. This combination had the desired effect, and in 1847 a local option law was passed. The sectional nature of the reform was manifested when, on a vote of the people, only New Castle County went dry. The faithful received a blow from an unexpected quarter, however, when the law was found unconstitutional on the ground that action under it was referred to the people.[53]

The desire for drastic legal action by secular extremists was paralleled in some instances by growing inordinacy in the church. An attempt by the Presbyterians in 1842 to refuse membership to any applicant engaged in the liquor traffic was prevented only by a synodical ruling.[54] Clergymen's names became prominent as speakers before political rallies, and the Baptists increased their efforts to persuade the city council, of Wilmington, to abstain from issuing licenses.[55] The press opened their columns to interminable debates on the Bib-

53. MS petitions to the Legislature, 1847, Legislative Papers (Delaware State Archives); *Laws of the State of Delaware . . . 1847* (Dover, 1847), Chapt. CLXXXVI; Rice *v.* Foster, S. M. Harrington, *Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Superior Court of Delaware* (Dover, 1848), IV, 497-507.

54. J. L. Vallandigham and S. A. Gayley, *History of the Presbytery of New Castle . . . 1717 to 1888* (Colora, Md., n. d.), [Part II], p. 13.

55. *Gazette*, May 13, 1845; *Journal*, May 13, 1845.

lical attitude toward drinking, but, as with slavery, both factions found scriptural sanction for their position.

By the beginning of the decade of the fifties, the social character of the movement had become subordinated to the political. Temperance Hall, built at the high tide of enthusiasm during the forties and long the center of social activities, by 1850 was a business failure; not even enough interest could be found to keep the landmark open. That year also mirrored the new temper of the movement by the appearance on the ballot of a Temperance party. Frustrated by the failure of their bipartisan policies, the drys entered the lists only to suffer ignominous defeat. A bitter factional rivalry had split the New Castle and Kent county temperance conventions, and the radicals had bolted to organize politically. The prevailing belief that temperance was closer to the Whigs than the Democrats was borne out in the voting; the small minority of votes the Temperance party polled was instrumental in swinging the election to the Democrats. The result was unprecedented. Delaware, first a Federalist and then a Whig stronghold, had never lost both governorship and legislature at the same election.[56] The Democrats campaigned on a platform of "constitutional reform," denouncing John M. Clayton's "clique" and his "abolition" sympathies. These not unfounded charges may have swayed some votes in Sussex, but it was the defection of the temperance radicals in New Castle County that sealed the verdict.[57] When the Democratic legislature immediately pushed through a Sunday liquor law, the Whigs declared it was a political debt. Both the Whigs and Temperance men raised the cry of fraud when the Locofocos repealed the law in a special session before a single conviction had been made.[58]

56. Reed, H. Clay (ed.), *Delaware, A History of the First State* (New York, 1947), I, 159.

57. *Journal*, Nov. 19, 1850; *Gazette*, Nov. 15, 1850; speech of John M. Clayton in the *Journal*, Nov. 18, 1850 (extra); J. P. Comegys, *Memoir of John M. Clayton* (Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, No. 4 [Wilmington, 1882]), pp. 211-12.

58. *Laws of the State of Delaware . . . 1851* (Wilmington, 1851), Chapt. DXCVII; *Journal*, Mar. 21, 1851; Feb. 10, 13, 1852; *Laws of the State of Delaware . . . 1852* (Wilmington, 1852), Chapt. DCLXCI.

As the election of 1852 approached, the Whigs realized that they must woo the temperance radicals back into the fold if they were to carry the state. They wrote into their platform, therefore, a plank declaring their willingness "to aid in all rational and proper measures for the promotion of such a system of civil policy, as will most effectually tend to the suppression of intemperance." The ultras gleefully recognized their victory and prepared to rally round the Whig standard.[59]

This concession to the temperance radicals spelled death for the Whigs in Delaware. Traditionally conservative in politics,[60] many citizens were growing increasingly suspicious of extremist tendencies in elements of the Whig party. As temperance and abolition were forced into the political arena, the majority shied from strategy that must lead to extreme action. Whig legislatures in the forties had repeatedly gone on record as opposed to the extension of slavery.[61] While it was popular, the Whigs had championed the prevalent sentiment for "the gradual amelioration of the condition of the blacks," and the census revealed a constant reduction in the number of slaves. As Delaware slave holders, however, became increasingly sensitive to criticism of their peculiar institution, the Whigs found themselves unalterably tinged with abolitionism. The idolized Henry Clay had warned Delaware from the floor of the Senate that "if there is to be a breaking up of the waters of this Union, [Delaware] will be swallowed up in the common deluge, and left without support."[62]

Capitalizing on these new tensions, the Democrats accused the "Whig panjandrum of the State (Hon. John M. Clayton)" of complicity with the Seward abolitionists and recalled his endorsement of the Wilmot Proviso. The Whig

59. "Proceedings of the Whig State Convention," *Journal*, June 11, 1852; "Delaware State Temperance Convention," *Gazette*, June 22, 1852.

60. Delaware's persistent antebellum conservatism is treated in "Party Battles, 1787-1850," by John A. Munroe in Reed (ed.), *Delaware*, I, 125-62.

61. *Journal of the Senate of the State of Delaware . . . 1845 . . .* (Dover, 1845), pp. 67-68; *ibid.*, . . . *1847* . . . (Wilmington, 1847), p. 204.

62. *Congressional Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., appendix, p. 1413.

opposition to a stringent Democratic bill restricting free Negroes from entering the state was construed as another example of their agitation of the race question. Clayton had a strong personal following in the state, but ill health had restricted his campaigning.[63] On Election Day, 1852, Delaware cast for Franklin Pierce, and a week later sent a Democratic representative to Congress. The Whigs controlled the legislature on joint ballot, which insured Clayton his seat in the Senate. Clayton wrote to his close friend, Robert Montgomery Bird, that the loss was due to "the astonishing sums of money used by the enemy,"[64] but it seems probable that conservative Delaware opinion was growing suspicious of the radical tendencies of the Whigs and was beginning to drift toward the Democratic standard which now seemed the party of solidarity.

The legislature met in the winter of 1853 in an atmosphere of tension. Persistent rumors circulated that the Maine Law would be passed and a large number of petitions swamped the lawmakers at Dover. A Whig-dominated committee in the House of Representatives finally agreed on a stringent license law and a re-enactment of the Sunday liquor law. The State Temperance Convention interpreted this as an entering wedge and prepared to intensify the battle.[65]

The first sign of a decisive shift in the political wind appeared in the Delaware elections of May, 1854. The Maine Law League, although completely ignored by the Democratic *Gazette* and condemned by the Whig *State Journal* as unscrupulous politicians bent on getting in office, swept the election. It was the climax of an assiduous campaign. Lecturers had been imported to canvass the state and procure signers for a prohibitory law. During the autumn of 1853 Maine Law Leagues were set up in each hundred to collect money and rally supporters. Besides astutely pledging a large num-

63. Letter from J. M. Clayton to Robert M. Bird, July 13, 1852 (Bird Papers, University of Pennsylvania).

64. *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1852.

65. *Laws of the State of Delaware . . . 1853 . . .* (Wilmington, 1853), Chapt. CVII; *Gazette*, May 10, 1853.

ber of votes prior to election, Neal Dow was imported from Portland to whip up enthusiasm for the ticket. This "small, spare" speaker was so carried away by his own eloquence that he declared on election night in New Castle that the people should resort to despotic or monarchial means to sustain the victory if all else failed.[66]

The result "came as a complete surprise" to many observers. A political post mortem revealed that the Maine Law League was but slightly a temperance party. A coalition of ex-Whigs, currently professing prohibition principles, and lukewarm Locofocos, it owed its victory to the wholesale defection of Democrats who were dissatisfied with their party's candidate for mayor and saw in collusion with the antirum faction an opportunity to defeat the Whigs. The victory in the name of temperance revealed an increased political aptitude on the part of the reformers; or perhaps, as the Whigs charged, the usurpation of leadership by "old party hacks." Amid the confusion of denunciation and denial, what struck fear into the hearts of the two old parties was the vague rumor of a new and terrifying, because unknown, force — the Know Nothings. Whispered abroad as between two and three hundred men, they were a potent and enigmatic factor in the election.

As the autumn election of 1854 approached, old party lines were in confusion. The Whigs attempted to reform their ranks on temperance principles, but in September their official demise was reported in the press. A party afflicted with congenital schism, it had no compelling doctrine and in the search for new issues had embraced radicalism.[67] With the loss of attachment to the old parties, citizens could vote more independently; and as new party alignments were made, it was possible to insert a plank to please all interests. Out

66. William Ditto Lewis (ed.), "The Diary of a Student at Delaware College, August, 1853, to November, 1854," May 2, 1854, *Delaware Notes, 1951* (University of Delaware, 1951); *Gazette*, May 9, 1854.

67. For example, in a political stump speech, Neal Dow labeled himself "a whig, dyed in the wool" but declared the old party issues were dead and prohibition must be made the point of contention. *Gazette*, May 9, 1854.

of the multiplicity of factions all seeking recognition arose the American party. A structure raised on a foundation of negation and expediency, its empty generalities were soon being roundly mouthed by the *State Journal,* the former Whig organ now in search of a party.

Anxious to eschew all connection with the exposed nerves of abolition and temperance, the ex-Whigs turned naturally to the time-worn nativist issues to rally their dispersed forces. In their heyday before the mass arrival of the Irish and Germans, the Whigs had ridden the crest of a popular wave of nationalism and nativism. Robert Montgomery Bird, the novelist-turned-politician, declared in a stump speech in 1842: "I AM A FULL BLOODED DELAWAREAN and I can boast . . . that five or six generations of my fathers were born upon and now molder beneath the soil; and then I am a Whig, a very good one."[68] The Delaware Democrats, long the minority party, attempted to swell their ranks with the new arrivals. Perhaps the word, "democrat," had more meaning for the foreigner than "whig," which was only the name of a party. Carl Schurz asserted that immigrants "drifted into the Democratic Party, which represented itself to them as the protector of the political rights of the foreign born population, while the Whigs were suspected of 'nativistic' tendencies."[69] The Delaware Locofocos made special efforts to attract and utilize the foreign vote in 1850, and following the victory of 1852, the crowing editor of the Democratic *Gazette* declared that "To the loyal Irish who voted as one man, we owe a debt of gratitude we cannot repay. To the noble hearted Germans who stood by us so firmly we owe our warmest thanks."[70] "Oh, how degrading it is," complained one diehard Whig, "to see the foreign vote in this [Democratic] party at the polls. Where we voted, at least one hundred and fifty of

68. C. E. Foust, *The Life and Dramatic Works of Robert Montgomery Bird* (New York, 1919), p. 125.

69. Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz,* 3 vols. (New York, 1907-9), II, 65.

70. *Gazette,* Nov. 15, 1850; Nov. 5, 1852.

them were foreigners."[71] Nativism was not, of course, entirely unrelated to abolition and temperance. The southern counties were becoming increasingly aware of the inherent danger to slavery arising from the vast tide of foreigners flooding New Castle County. In a slave state like Delaware with a large free Negro element, there was the special problem of controlling the illicit sale of liquor to Negroes, a traffic in which foreign born storekeepers often engaged.

During the humid July and August days of 1854, Delawareans ceased to wonder "What has become of the Whig Party?" and asked instead, "What are the Know-Nothings doing?"[72] The society kept its operations well hidden and only occasionally did some intimation of activity find its way into the press. Whether the temperance men were a power in the councils of the Know Nothings is not known, yet they must have seen the advantages to be gained in secret organization. Since temperance had proved anathema at the polls, it was necessary to graft the crusade on one of the major parties. Rumors of the existence of lodges were common in locations known as hotbeds of prohibition sentiment. The ritual and mystery that hung over the Know Nothings would attract men who had joined similar temperance societies. That the antirum faction had a decisive voice in the formation of American party policy is undeniable, and the fact that they kept their intentions hidden from the anti-Know Nothing wing of the party suggests that there was an alliance with the secret brotherhood.[73]

The core of the American party in Delaware was perhaps the Know Nothing lodge, but the experienced politicos realized that the cabala and ritual were only valuable in the preliminary stages, and for practical operations it was necessary to make a gradual transition to party machinery. After mapping preparatory strategy at open meetings late in August, the American convention assembled in October, 1854,

71. Talley, "Diary," Nov. 6, 1856. Punctuation altered for clarity.

72. *Journal*, Aug. 15, 1854; *Gazette*, Sept. 5, 1854.

73. See below, notes 78, 79.

to construct a platform. The completed structure revealed an attempt to avoid old party issues and appeal to a cross section of interest. Announcing that America was for Americans, a mild anti-immigrant plank was aimed at the downstate nativists as well as those Wilmingtonians who were growing increasingly alarmed at the rapid influx of foreigners. Since anti-Catholicism was never a living issue in Delaware, the Americans hoped to avoid alienating the urban Irish vote by endorsing religious liberty in the words of the Constitution. Party leaders were anxious to soft pedal the explosive slavery issue and shrewdly gauged Delaware public opinion as hostile to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, "a bill odious in principle, uncalled for by any political exigency, and if passed, opening the flood gates to future agitation on the Slavery question."[74] The American party, therefore, pharisaically declared that "it had ignored the slavery question and refused as a party to lend its aid in keeping up the bitter and continual warfare between one section of the country and another." More practically, the party promised both Whigs and Democrats that old political allegiance would play no part in the distribution of the patronage. With the subject of the prohibition of the liquor traffic, the Americans seemingly had nothing to do.[75]

Entering the campaign with the blessings of John M. Clayton,[76] the American candidate, Peter F. Causey, a popular Wilmington business man and titular head of the defunct Whigs, was elected governor by one of the largest majorities ever won in the State.[77] The Senate had five Americans, two Whigs, and two Democrats; the House was overwhelmingly American: nineteen to two.

The campaign of the Americans was conspicuous by its adroit evasion of any issue even remotely connected with

74. Address by Wilmington Whigs to J. M. Clayton, Feb. 13, 1854, Clayton Papers (Library of Congress).

75. *Journal*, Dec. 19, 1854; *Gazette*, Oct. 10, 1854.

76. *Journal*, Nov. 3, 1854.

77. Letter from P. F. Causey to J. M. Clayton, Nov. 23, 1854, Clayton Papers.

liquor. No sooner was the victory secure, than the gloating editor of the American *State Journal* ridiculed the miserable showing of the Temperance Ticket and confidently declared:[78]

> There will be no Prohibitory Law passed by the Legislature recently elected. Our information on this point is reliable.
>
> A law may be passed to test the question before the people . . . but this will be about all that will be done during the Session.

Disregarding this reliable information, the Maine Liquor Law League put its political machine into high gear. Seemingly unperturbed by the fact that its ticket had received but 250 out of roughly 13,000 votes cast, committees for each hundred were organized and empowered to appoint committees for each school district to secure names on petitions. As the mounting petitions brought the question before the legislature, pre-election machinations began to come to light. The New Castle County nominees of the Americans were generally on record as favoring the passing of a law, while in Kent and Sussex complaints were raised that it had been "universally understood" that no decided action was to be taken. The nominees of the party, "by word, act, and deed" had done much to impress this on the voters. Despite these assurances, a month before the election the League withdrew several of their men in favor of Americans. Although the party organ, edited by a wet and an anti-Know Nothing, declared that a prohibition law would be a "fraud" on many voters,[79] in general the press tempered its abuse, limiting criticism of the law to the "right of search clause."

Popular temperance enthusiasm was high as the friends of the law saw victory within their grasp. Waves of petitions "praying the suppression of intemperance" broke over the legislature until the tide became irresistible.[80] Crowds jammed the capitol at Dover and thronged the gallery and halls

78. *Journal*, Nov. 24, 1854.

79. *Ibid.*, Nov. 27, 1854.

80. *Journal of the Senate of the State of Delaware . . . 1855* (Dover, 1855), index, p. 264; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Delaware . . . 1855* (Dover, 1855), index, pp. 17-19.

to cheer on their champions. The act for the suppression of intemperance was passed on February 27, 1855.[81] Modeled on the Maine Law, it provided heavy penalties for selling liquor except for mechanical, chemical, sacramental, or medicinal purposes. A person arrested for intoxication was fined ten to twenty dollars or two days' imprisonment for every dollar not paid. An analysis of the vote in the legislature mirrored the sectional nature of the reform. Americans from New Castle County and northern Kent generally voted for the bill, while the southern part of the state was unalterably opposed. The geographical factor overshadowed old party lines, for the six Democrats in the House who had been drawn into the new party were split evenly over the measure, and the two holdover Whigs in the Senate also divided their support.

With the passage of the law, a great wave of moral self-satisfaction swept the State. While the press had generally opposed prohibition, they now reversed themselves and unanimously reported "a feeling of satisfaction rarely witnessed in our community."[82] Total prohibition went into effect in early December, 1855, amidst a flurry of speeches, high resolutions, and band music. It was immediately challenged in the courts by a prominent Wilmington hosteler, and for all practical purposes remained a dead letter pending the judicial decision. In May, 1856, a newly elected Democratic mayor of Wilmington refused to enforce the law, condemning the fine for drunkenness as "excessive and the punishment cruel and unusual." In late May the court met in an atmosphere of carnival in New Castle, and for four days eight distinguished Delaware lawyers argued the merits of the case before appreciative audiences. The Superior Court found the law constitutional, affirming the "right of government to regulate the use and enjoyment of private property for the public

81. *Laws of the State of Delaware . . . 1855* (Milford, 1855), Chapt. CCXLXV.

82. *Gazette*, Mar. 2, 1855.

good."[83] As the summer wore on, the law remained generally disregarded, and the opinion was prevalent that more liquor was being drunk than before prohibition. The mayor, violating specific pre-election pledges, still refused to "send men to the county prison when unable to pay a fine . . . for taking a glass too much."

With the November election but a few months away, the Democrats of Sussex, always foes of prohibition and smarting under the "deceit and misrepresentation" of the Americans, wrote a repeal plank into their platform. The two upper counties, sensing public opinion, followed suit. Anarchy vitiated the American ranks. While temperance and free soil elements maneuvered for control of the nominations, the new Republican party dominated parlor and tavern talk.[84] The newspapers decided to fight it out on the question of prohibition. While the Democrats were labeled the "Rum Party," the American's silence on the liquor question laid them open to the charge of "Mum Party." With the acumen of a practical politician, the sapient Clayton realized the essential problem. "I wish," he wrote, "abolitionism and political temperance were both segregated from all other party connections, that we might by a temporary coalition of all other parties, put them down so low that they could never rise again."[85] Vexed over the temperance-controlled Americans and unable to accept either Democrats or Republicans, he resolved to remain neutral.[86] His decision was the death knell for the moribund Americans. His personal prestige had

83. Prohibition came gradually to Delaware from June 1, 1855 (the date the law went into effect) until Dec. 8, of that year (the date of the expiration of the final license under the former law). Charles M. Allmond, a prominent Wilmington Democrat and proprietor of the Indian Queen Hotel, was indicted Nov. 22, 1855. "State *v.* Charles M. Allmond," *Journal*, June 5, 10, 1856; Talley, "Diary," May 26-31, 1856; *Gazette*, May 27, 1856. Counsel against: James A. Bayard, Willard Saulsbury, Joseph P. Comegys, John Wales; counsel for: Daniel M. Bates, E. G. Bradford, N. P. Smithers, C. S. Layton. *Gazette*, May 30, 1856.

84. Anna Ferris, "Diary," Nov. 6, 15, 1856.

85. Letter from J. M. Clayton to George P. Fisher, Jan. 7, 1856 (Delaware State Archives).

86. Letters from J. M. Clayton to T. M. Rodney, July 27, Sept. 18, 1856, Clayton Papers (MSS in the library of the Historical Society of Delaware); *Republican*, Sept. 18, 1856.

forced recalcitrant Whigs into line in 1854, but as three hundred voters in New Castle aligned with the Black Republicans, Delawareans deserted "Whiggery and Maine Leaguery" for the standard of Jefferson and Jackson. The Democrats, who had campaigned as a "conservative" and "safe" party to attract the "old line Whig" vote, quietly repealed the noble experiment in the winter of 1857 and replaced it with a license law.

The American party scored a spectacular but ephemeral victory by a platform professing a middle-of-the-road policy. Behind cabalistic notices and patriotic pyrotechnics, a coalition of Whigs and Democrats, dissatisfied with "fogyism," saw a convenient opportunity for an exodus from old party bondage. Failing to see the carefully camouflaged plank of prohibition nailed to the American platform by temperance extremists, Delawareans flocked to this new standard under the belief that here was a trustworthy policy for perilous times. Blind to the moral of the collapse of the Delaware Whigs, the Americans became a catchall of minority protests.

Of the various factors that caused the almost complete collapse of the temperance movement after a half century of agitation and education, undoubtedly the most significant was the sense of revulsion that followed the deterioration of a highly moral crusade into a sordid political battle. A sincere belief in the Christian virtue of temperance plus the exasperation at the obstinate refusal of men to reform by sheer force of will led many of the more moderate reformers to a willingness to give prohibition as fair a trial as moral suasion had had. The leadership of the party was captured by men eager to use temperance as a springboard to political office. Disillusioned by the partisan struggle for the temperance vote and the cynical attitude of administrative officers toward the prohibitory law, this bloc of supporters revolted at the whole shabby affair. As the solidarity of the movement was shattered by party politics, the sympathies of those in favor of temperance were divided at a time when larger issues determined party loyalty.

Also significant in the utter failure of the law was the apathy of the public once the fight was won. The sudden loss of interest, with the consequent falling off of financial support and the collapse of organizational elements that had brought the sentiments of the movement into focus, contributed to the recession. Although the leaders of the reform realized the need for continued agitation, all attempts to assemble floundered.[87] The meeting of the Sons of Temperance, but recently the scene of flood emotions and acrimonious debate, in the spring of 1856 had hardly enough members present for a quorum.[88] Another rankling irritation with the public that hindered the cause was the failure of the drys to replace inns and taverns with temperance houses adequate for travelers.[89]

Another factor that made legal restriction of the liquor traffic a simpler achievement in 1855 than any later date was the lack of an organized opposition. Taxes and license fees were not yet a significant source of revenue to the government, and the ante-bellum trade was carried on by the relatively small-scale methods of individuals. It was not until the law of 1855 had gone into effect that the rum dealers began to form a lobby for repeal.[90] These dealers were joined by many Delawareans who had underestimated the strength of the reform and now violently objected to the law on the grounds of its restriction of their freedom. While the early movement attracted fairly widespread support and enlisted prominent men as its leaders,[91] the political phase was dominated by a small clique of politicos schooled in the methods of pressure groups. The temperance society had appealed to the gregarious, and the temperance lecture and short story

87. The Delaware State Temperance Convention met in May, 1855, and passed resolutions to continue their organization for the purpose of enforcing the law, and the Temperance Alliance was formed in Wilmington in June of the same year to aid the civil authorities to carry out the law, but both groups proved ineffective. *Gazette*, May 11, June 26, Nov. 22, 1855.

88. Talley, "Diary," Apr. 24, 1856.

89. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1856.

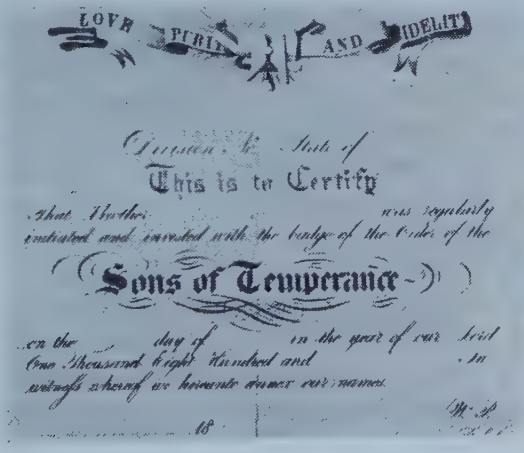
90. *Republican*, Dec. 13, 1855; *Gazette*, Dec. 18, 1855.

91. American Temperance Union, *Reports* (Philadelphia, 1837-59).

to the ennuied, but the pressing sense of immediacy that forced the lunatic fringe to coercion rankled with the cautious and independent Delaware farmer and urbanite. As a border state "Standing midway between the fiery, Quixotic Secessionists of the South, and the hot-headed Abolition Disunionists of the North," Delaware tended more and more toward moderation in all things when faced with the consequences of becoming a "battleground and scene of desolation."[92]

The prohibitory law of 1855 climaxed a mounting emotionalism that colored the entire history of the temperance reform in Delaware. Far from a homogeneous and compact political entity, the movement revealed the State to be wracked by conflicting interests and inner dissension. On a local scale, it was an index to extremist attitudes and political irresponsibility that rushed inexorably toward conflicts more disastrous.

92. *Journal*, May 20, 1851; *Gazette*, Nov. 22, 1855. Cf. above, note 60.



THE TEMPERANCE PLEDGE

The original blank form, which is reproduced above, is in the Library of Congress.

Communicant Records, 1713-56 Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church

PART I: 1713-18

Transcribed and Edited by

COURTLAND B. and RUTH L. SPRINGER*

OF all the early records of Holy Trinity Church, none were set down more faithfully or with greater exactness than the communicant rolls. Whether a few persons or many gathered in the church to partake of the Lord's Supper, whether the pastor journeyed for three miles or thirty to administer Communion to the sick, the entry in the church book was made, in almost every instance, with promptness and care.

Not all the writers, it is true, were equally endowed with clerical gifts. One entry reads merely, "Some," another recites the names of eight men who came to Communion, with a final notation, "and all their wives"! There are years in the 1740's which have no entries at all. Names, of course, are spelled in many ways; this matter was discussed at some length in the March, 1953, issue of *Delaware History,* in the introduction to "Burial Records, 1713-65, Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church," which the present reader may wish to review. In the main, however, the communicant lists are remarkably clear, and the careful reader will find in them not only helpful information as to names, dates, and places but also new or confirming evidence of family relationships which no other records afford.

For the period before 1713, the first year for which we

*Courtland B. Springer is a direct descendant of Charles Springer, who is recorded here as one of the communicants of the Swedish congregation. Mr. Springer, who is now retired, and Mrs. Springer live in Upper Darby, Pa. The authors have spent much time in recent years in research both on the early history of the Springer family and in the Old Swedes records.

have Holy Trinity vital records, New Castle County birth and marriage records are so few that every designation here of "wife, mother, daughter, son-in-law, stepdaughter, brother's son" is light in the darkness, indeed. It is almost beyond belief that source material of such value should have gone so long unpublished.

In removing the communicant lists from their setting among baptisms, marriages, and other records in the church books, we have taken grateful advantage, editorially, of all the help the context could give. In this present work, as in the earlier one, names are spelled exactly as they appear in the manuscript, with the addition, in brackets, of letters needed to complete an abbreviated form. Where either given name or surname was omitted by the original writer, it has been supplied, if possible, from the other records; where names or parts of names have disappeared because the center of a page has crumbled, these, too, have been filled in from the same sources. Names which would not readily suggest their present-day counterparts, as "Ersson" (Erickson), have been identified. In all cases such added letters or names have been enclosed in brackets. Periods have been used to separate individual names and family groups in entries which were written as continuous lists, with commas or no punctuation at all between names. Footnotes have been added to supply background material which the reader may find useful.

The records for six years, 1713-18, are presented in this first installment of communicant rolls, with other years to follow in later issues of *Delaware History*.

Our continuing gratitude goes to friends who have had so important a share in the preparation of this material and in its publication.

COMMUNICANTS IN THE YEAR 1713

[Second Book, p. 24][1]

MAY 25. Peter Andersson. [William] Maslander's wife, Helekin. Maria Stalcop.

31. Anders Mink[,] Grels' [son],[2] Eric Ersson [Ericsson, Erickson] and his wife, Anna. Jöran Lietken [Litien] and his wife, Kerstin.[3] Old Mrs. Annika[4] and her daughter Kerstin. Brita Clemens [Clementson, Clements].[5] Thomas Jons' [Jones'] wife, Anna.[6]

1. A shortened form of the original heading, "Anteckning uppå Herrans Nattwards Communicanter i Christina Församling Ao. 1713 [A Record of Lord's Supper Communicants in Christina Congregation in the Year 1713]."

Records for this and several succeeding years are in the handwriting of Andreas Hesselius, who, with his assistant, Abraham Lidenius, had assumed full charge of the congregation on the first Sunday in May, 1713. The beloved Eric Biörk was at this time preparing to return home to Sweden, with his family, although their actual departure did not take place until June 29, 1714.

2. The Mink, Minck family lived "over the river," that is, in West Jersey. Cf. Salem County, New Jersey, deed and probate records.

3. Cf. the entry for Dec. 25, 1713, below.

Amandus Johnson observes that the name Jöran was also written "Jurgen" on early lists of Swedish settlers. (Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, 1638-1664* [Philadelphia, 1911] II, 699.) George Lynam, a member of the Christina congregation, was baptized Jöran. (Records of Holy Trinity Church, Second Book, pp. 66, 253.)

4. This is almost certainly Annika, "Clement's daughter," widow of Lasse (Laurence), Olla's son, Tussey, of Verdritige Hook, who died Aug. 3, 1684. (New Castle County Wills, Miscellaneous Book 1, p. 370.) Verdritige Hook (also called Vertrede Hook, Trinity Hook, Three Tree Hook), was an 827½-acre tract of land, bounded by the Delaware and Christina rivers, Brandywine Creek, and the several courses of Shellpot Creek. In 1688 the hook was resurveyed and divided "into five several plantations, according to the distinct settlements of the present inhabitants thereof," and a map in New Castle County Survey Book A, p. 532, shows "Annake Lawson's" land adjoining that of Jacob Clementson. A copy of this map may be seen in the Gilbert Cope Collection, Vol. 82, p. 174 (Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania). Cf. New Castle County Deeds, Book W-1, p. 318. A son of Laurence and Annika Tussey, who signed his name "Jacob Lawson," removed to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, before Nov. 20, 1749. Cf. New Castle County Deeds, Books Q-1, p. 596; N-1, 485; S-1, p. 91.

5. Widow of Jacob Clementson of Verdritige Hook, who died about June 17, 1698. Cf. New Castle County Wills, Book B-1, p. 74. For further information, cf *Records of the Court of New Castle on Delaware* (Meadville, Pa., 1935), II (*1681-1699*), 37, 48, 50, 83, 103, 169, 216.

6. Thomas John, "an old man," is listed as a communicant in 1734. Other entries refer to him as Thomas Jonsson and Thomas Jones (frequently spelled "Jons" as in this instance). That he was in fact Thomas Jones of Brandywine Hundred is evident. Cf. New Castle County Deeds, Books B-1, p. 57, E-1, p. 316, H-1, p. 150. In other deeds, made in 1703, Book B-1, pp. 232, 378, Henry, Olla, and Stephen Toarson (Tussey), sons of Olla, Olla's son, Toarson of Verdritige Hook, who died in 1687, refer to Thomas Jones as their "father-in-law," that is, stepfather; their mother, Anna, must

JUNE 7. Jonas Walrawen [Walraven] and his wife, Annika, also the daughter Brita.

21. Johan Giöding and his wife, Annika.

JULY 5. Herr[7] Eric Biörk and his wife.[8] Måns Gustafsson [Justis, Justice] and his wife, Catharina.

19. Anders Gustafsson and his wife, Brita.

AUGUST 2. Elisabet von Neeman [Vanneman], also the daughter Elisabeth.

therefore have been Thomas Jones' wife. These deeds name Olla Toarson's children as Henry, John, Margaret, Matthias, Olla, and Stephen. Records of the administration of "Oalla Toorsson's" estate, New Castle County Wills, Book A-1, p. 86, refer to his widow, Anna, his son Henry, and his son-in-law Benjamin Stedham. See also footnote No. 17, below.

7. The degree of respect and dignity implicit in the use of "Herr" in these early records is not conveyed by modern translation.

8. Eric Biörk and Christina Stalcop, daughter of Peter Stalcop, were married on Oct. 6, 1702, by Andreas Sandel, who had come from Sweden not long before to succeed his friend Andreas Rudman as pastor at Wicaco (Philadelphia). Here are some excerpts from Sandel's diary for that period:

> 1702, July the 15th. Came Mag. Biork with his intended bride to Mag. Rudman, I did come there too.
>
> the 16th. Again I walked from Passajung to Mag. Rudman in order again to pay my respects to Mag. Biorks [*sic*], [and] Mag. Rudman and I did then escort his sweetheart to show her the town, as she had not seen it before.
>
> Sep. the 20th. Under a heavy rain I went down to Christina to say the banns for Mag. Biork and his sweetheart, Stina Stallkapp, who afterwards were joined in marriage October 6th. I was very ill in the intervening time . . . so it was with the very greatest ado I was able to marry them.

See Andreas Sandel: "A Brief Review of My Journey to West India, August 24, 1701, and Philadelphia Diary, 1702-1719," translated by B. Elfving, Stockholm. (Manuscript copy, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

Biörk himself wrote to the Swedish Resident in London, a letter preserved in the Swedish Royal Archives, to tell of his marriage:

> Especially is my situation much changed in that a good man's child of my congregation, now in her sixteenth year, Kristina Stallcop by name, has, by her modest ways and unusual proficiency in all things, at length bound my heart unto herself, although she, because of her shyness toward me and my office, did for a time politely decline, but all the more pleased me thereby.

(Translated from Otto Norberg, *Svenska Kyrkans Mission vid Delaware i Nord-Amerika* [Stockholm, 1893], p. 31*n*.)

When Andreas Sandel preached Christina Stalcop Biörk's funeral sermon, in Sweden, he gave the date of her birth as Apr. 19, 1686. (*Ibid.*)

30. Pastor Mag.[ister] Hesselius and his wife, Sara.[9] Herr Abr. [aham] Lidenius.[10] Brita Stalcop. Johan von Culen. Kerstin Pålssen [Paulson, Poulson]. Maria Pålssen.

OCTOBER 18. Peter Månsson's wife, Carin. Olof Månsson. Annika Tossawa [Tussey].

NOVEMBER 1. Conrad Constantin[e] and his wife, Kerstin.[11]

8. Peter Caupony and his wife, Helena.[12]

22. Herr Eric Biörk and his wife. Pastor Mag.[ister] Hesselius and his wife, Sara. Maria Stalcop.

29. Judith van de Wer [Vandever], in her illness.

DECEMBER 2. Johan Cock, at St. George's, in his illness.[13]

25. Jacob Hindersson [Hindricsson, Hendrickson] and his wife, Malin [Magdalen, Magdalena]. Georg Litien and his wife, Kerstin. Jacob van de Wer and his wife. Hans Petersson and his wife, Sara. Gabriel Petersson and his wife, Kerstin. Hans Sher [Shere, Shiere] and his wife, Anna. Henric Roisko. Chris-

9. On May 3, 1713, "the fourth Sunday after Easter" and the first day of his regular pastorate at Christina, Andreas Hesselius was married to Sara, daughter of Jonas Walraven. (Holy Trinity Records, First Book, p. 96.)

10. Abraham Lidenius, who had come from Sweden with Hesselius to be his assistant, was assigned charge of the families "over the river," to their great satisfaction. While those living in the Raccoon Creek area were generally considered a part of the Wicaco congregation, and those at Penn's Neck, of the Christina congregation, Mr. Lidenius ministered to them all.

11. In October, 1684, Conrad Constantine, on behalf of his wife, Christian, late widow and relict of Pella Perker [Parker?], deceased, testified that he had duly and legally proved a certain nuncupative will of said Pella which made provision for the widow and eight children. New Castle County Wills, Book A-1, p. 65.

12. Peter Petersson, called *Caupony, Caupany, Caupeny,* to distinguish him from Peter Petersson, *Smith.* Cf. *Delaware History* (March, 1953), V, 182, 183, footnotes. This odd nickname, which has aroused a good deal of interest and conjecture, actually has a very simple explanation. It is derived from the Swedish word "kåpa," meaning, in the usage of that day, "a short cloak." To English ears, the broad Swedish "å" had almost the sound of "au," as in caught; hence, the wearer of the short cloak became Peter Caupany. (Cf. the transition from Pålsson to Paulson.) Another nickname, Stalcop (footnote 15, below), unlike Caupany, has been preserved as the regular family surname.

13. Johan Cock died two weeks later, and was buried in his garden on December 16. (Cf. *ibid.,* V, 182.) Mr. Hesselius went down to St. George's again, "about 20 English miles," to preach the funeral sermon and had a difficult time getting home. "When I now returned to my usual ferry place," he wrote in his journal, "with the idea of being brought across [the Christina River] with my horse, and now had my home in sight, it was impossible to get over the water in any manner, because it was all covered with ice . . . too strong for the barge to cut through, but too weak for me to walk over." (Cf. "The Journal of Andreas Hesselius," translated by Amandus Johnson, in *ibid.* [September, 1947], II, 108.)

tian Petersson. Olof Nilsson and his wife, Margr.[eta]. (These members of the congregation, living on the other side of the river, were given Communion by Herr Lidenius.)[14]

26. Johan Gustafsson and his wife, Brita.[15] Måns Gustafsson and his wife, Catharina. Johan Van de Wer. Judith van de Wer.

14. Further mention of some of these families "over the river" may be found in *The Records of the Swedish Lutheran Churches at Raccoon and Penns Neck, 1713-1786* (American Guide Series, Federal Writers' Project, 1938). Where it is possible to use a microfilm copy of the original church books (Library of Congress, New Jersey Historical Society, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and elsewhere) in connection with the published records, it is recommended that this be done.

15. Cf. Andreas Sandel's "Diary," p. 135:

> 1704, Nov. the 13th. Along with Giosta Giastasohn's [Justa Justis'] son Jean [John] I went down to Christina, where he was married to Petter Stacko's [Stalcop's] daughter.

Mr. Sandel did not recognize the familiar Swedish words "stål kofta," literally, "steel jacket," which had grown, in half a century on the Delaware, into the surname Stalcop.

Johan Andersson Stålkofta, a gunner, first member of the present Stalcop, Stalcup family to come to New Sweden, appears on the 1654-55 roll of freemen in the colony. (Cf. Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 717.) He died "on Christina Creeke" before Sept. 22, 1685, when the Provincial Council in Philadelphia, having had information of "ye Indians' Willingness to sell all their Right and claime to the Land between Upland [Chester] & Apoaquinamy, as farr backward as they have any Claime thereunto, and that they proposed a meeting at Widow Scalcop's on ye 29th Inst., in order to treat about ye same," appointed certain persons to be "at ye place aforesd, with full power to treat and compleat ye purchase wth them." (*Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* . . ., published in *Colonial Records* [Philadelphia, 1852], I, 156.)

Of the five sons named in John Anderson Stalcop's will, dated Aug. 24, 1679, probated Feb. 3, 1685/6, three, Andrew, John, and Peter, are known to have had descendants; Charles is later mentioned in a deed as having died without issue (New Castle County Deeds, Book M-1, p. 286); there is no further word of Jonas.

One daughter had married, before her father's will was made, Luloff Stedham (not Lucas Stedham, as is incorrectly stated in *A Calendar of Delaware Wills: New Castle County, 1682-1800*, compiled by the Colonial Dames of Delaware [New York, 1911], p. 8), as his first wife. Luloff, or Lyloff, Stedham remarried, before Oct. 5, 1695, "Katharine" (Catharina), widow of Andrew Stalcop. (Cf. New Castle County Wills, Book B-1, p. 29, administration of the estate of Andrew Stalcop.)

Another daughter, doubtless the Mary mentioned in her father's will, married Captain John Hance Steelman, merchant, Indian trader, and interpreter. (Cf. New Castle County Deeds, Book H-1, p. 150.) On Aug. 29, 1700, the Indian Owechela, called "King of the Delawares," signed a treaty of friendship with three Maryland commissioners at "John Hans Steelman's" trading house in Cecil County. (Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* [New York, 1911], I, 100.) As late as Jan. 12, 1721/2, Steelman is referred to as being "of Ceecill County," but by Oct. 3, 1724, he is "of Menawkos, in Prince Georges County," Maryland. (New Castle County Deeds, Book G-1, pp. 161, 372.) In 1744 John Hance Steelman, then living in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, disposed of land and marsh in Maryland. (Cecil County Deeds, Book 6, pp. 351, 353, 409, 411, 414.) He died in Lancaster, now Adams, County in 1749 (Lancaster County Administration Papers), and in 1924 the Penn-

COMMUNICANTS IN THE YEAR 1714

[Second Book, p. 56]

JANUARY 1. Old John Gustaf's [Justis', Justice's] widow, Mrs. Brita.[16] Jonas Walrawen and his wife, Annika. Mårten Gustafsson and his wife, Brita. Mrs. Maria Braun. Ingeborg Stedham.

sylvania Historical Commission, the Swedish Colonial Society, and citizens of Adams County placed a marker on the site of his frontier home, about ten miles southwest of Gettysburg and three miles northwest of Emmitsburg, Maryland. The inscription on the marker commemorates Steelman's early appearance as a settler west of the Susquehanna River.

16. "The venerable widow" Brita Justis and some of her children and grandchildren have so large a place in the records of Holy Trinity Church that it seems appropriate to include here brief notes on the family background:

On Nov. 22, 1699, "Bridget Justis, the mother, and her seven sons, Justa, Mounce, Charles, Hance, John, Swan, and Andrew, all of Philadelphia County," conveyed to James Hunt part of a tract of land in Kingsessing, Philadelphia County, which had been granted by patent from the Governor of New York on Mar. 10, 1670, to John Justis, deceased. (Exemplification Book 7, p. 428, City Hall, Philadelphia.)

Since it is possible to establish the date of birth of the eldest son, Justa, as 1656 (cf. "Returns of Inhabitants and Lands Owned and Improved in Portions of Philadelphia County in 1684," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, VII, 107), and since neither he nor any of his brothers is listed in the 1693 census of the Swedish congregations as having been born in Sweden (cf. Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden*, translated by William Reynolds [Philadelphia, 1874], p. 193), it seems quite certain that John Justis, the father, was the Johan Gustafsson from Kinekulle, Sweden, who came here on the "Swan" in 1643 and "served as soldier until 1653, when he probably became a freeman." (Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 714.) No relationship between John Justis and Jöns (Juns, James) Justis of Salem County, New Jersey, also Swedish born, has been established.

Extracts from now lost parish records of Gloria Dei (Wicaco) Church, Philadelphia, made by the Rev. Dr. Nicholas Collin and found on a paper in his handwriting, include a subscription list, dated Aug. 10, 1684, containing the names of Brita Jöstes, Jösta Jöstsson, and Mons Jöstasson. (*Pennsylvania Magazine*, II, 342). According to a census of the Wicaco congregation taken in 1697-98, Andrew, the youngest son, was born about 1681. The date of the father's death may therefore be determined with some exactness.

"Brigitta [Brita], daughter of Mouns" (the only clue we have to her parentage) and six of her sons, Justa, Mounce, Charles, John, Swan, and Andrew, appear in the Wicaco census. Also enrolled is her daughter Annika, wife of Mathias Morton of "Tennicum Creek," Chester, now Delaware, County, Pennsylvania. (*Pennsylvania Magazine*, II, 224-28.)

That Hance (a name not to be confused with the German Hans [John], though it is sometimes so written, in error) Justis was living in New Castle County in 1697 is evidenced by his witnessing, on March 25 of that year, the will of Oliver Cope, who lived on Naaman's Creek, below the Delaware line. (Philadelphia Wills, Book A, p. 357, No. 151.) It is probable that Hance and his wife were members of the Christina congregation when pews were assigned in 1699, although the name is recorded as Hans [*sic*] Göstafsson. (Holy Trinity Records, First Book, pp. 45, 47.) There is no one having a similar name, at that period, who cannot be accounted for elsewhere. In 1701 Hance Justis, then a resident of Chichester (Marcus Hook), signed a petition which is to be found in the "Documents of the Provincial Council," Logan Papers

6. Jacob Van de Wer, Cornelius' son, and his wife, Maria.

14. Carl Springer and his wife, Maria. Edward Robinsson. Walborg Ostersen.

FEBRUARY 14. Peter Peter's [Petersson's] wife, Karin, over Brandywine, in her illness.

MARCH 5. Edward Milsson's wife, Sara, in her illness.

28. Lucas Stedham and his wife, Karin, the son Lucas, and the daughter Ingeborg. William Maslander and his wife, Helena.

APRIL 4. Anders Kock [Cock, Cocks, Cox] and his wife, Sara.

14. Thomas Jons' wife, Anna, in her illness.[17]

18. Mr. Biörk and his wife, Christina. Mag.[ister] Hesselius and his wife, Sara. Anders Gustafsson and his wife, [Brita].

(Historical Society of Pennsylvania). On Nov. 16, 1710, Lydia, daughter of Hans [*sic*] Giostason of Cecil County, Maryland, was married by Eric Biörk to the Rev. Mr. Jonas Aurén. Andreas Sandel, pastor at Wicaco, journeyed to Maryland for the wedding and recorded the event in his diary. (Sandel, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-52.)

Although the entire family had close ties with the Christina congregation, and at least three of the sons (other than Hance) had land in New Castle County, Andrew is the only one to appear as a communicant during the period covered by this present work, 1713-56. John, Måns, Gustaf, and Morton Justis, whose names occur so frequently in Holy Trinity records, were sons of Justa and Anna (Morton) Justis of Philadelphia County; hence, grandsons of John and Brita Justis. (*Cf.* Philadelphia Wills, Book D, p. 208, No. 234, and *Pennsylvania Magazine*, II, 226.)

Probate records show that Justa, Mounce, Charles, John, and Swan Justis died in or near Philadelphia. Andrew removed from Wilmington after the death of his wife in 1737 (*cf. Delaware History* V, 193), and died in Salem County, New Jersey, in 1740. (Salem County Wills, Book 4, p. 254.)

At least one daughter of John and Brita Justis became a member of the Christina congregation; there was almost certainly another, and perhaps more of whom we do not yet know. Annika (Justis) Morton, second wife of Jonas Walraven, Sr., was the widow of Mathias Morton of Chester County. Later, as the widow of Jonas Walraven, she married Charles Springer, Sr., whose first wife, Maria Hendrickson, died in 1727. (*Cf. Delaware History*, V, 189.)

The aged Brita Justis died at Christina, and was buried in the churchyard there on Aug. 22, 1724. (*Cf. Delaware History*, V, 187.)

17. Anna was buried a week later, in Christina Churchyard (*Delaware History*, V, 182), and on Sept. 7, following, Thomas Jones married "Mrs. Margareta, Samuel's daughter." (Holy Trinity Records, Second Book, p. 49.) See also footnote 6, above.

Margareta, daughter of Samuel Peterson, was the widow of Asmund Stedham, one of the sons of Dr. Tymen Stedham. (Will of Asmund Stedham, signed, Aug. 26, 1711, probated Aug. 22, 1712, New Castle County Wills, Book B-1, p. 237; New Castle County Deeds, Books A-1, p. 168; M-1, pp. 27, 54.) Confirmation of Margareta's identity as Asmund Stedham's widow is given by a comparison of communicant and baptismal sponsor lists (Holy Trinity Records, Second Book) with Asmund's will and with deeds cited above.

25. Peter Meyer's wife, Sa[ra].

MAY

2. Johan Giöding and his [wife, Ann]ika.

9. Erik Eriksson (from Crane Hook), with his wife, Annika, and the son Erik. Brita, Clemmetssen's [Clementson's, Clements', Clemens'] widow.

10. Mag.[ister] Hesselius' wife, Sara, in her illness.

11. Erik Andersson's wife, in her illness.

14. Robert Braun's widow, Mrs. Maria, in her illness.

16. Johan William Lerchenzeiler, with his wife. Johan Didrich Elrod, with his wife, Maria Magdalena. Albertus Wolbach [Woolbough] and his wife, Barbro. Peter Petersson, over Brandywine, and his wife, Karin. Olof Tossawa's widow, Mrs. Gertrud. Ingeborg Stedham. Mary Moyer.

30. Peter Petersson's wife, Helena.

31. Johan Andersson Kock's wife, Catharina, in her illness.

JUNE

6. Philip Van de Wer.

13. Brita, Lars Mårten's [Morton's] widow.[18]

20. Christiern Stilman [Stillman, Steelman].[19] Conrad Constantin and his wife, Kerstin, with the daughter Maria.

[Page 57]:

18. Cf. Will of Laurence Morton, of Darby, Chester County, dated Apr. 5, 1713, probated June 16, 1713, with bequests to wife, Bridget, and child Tobias. (Philadelphia Wills, Book N, p. 347, No. 194.)

19. Records of the New Castle Court of Common Pleas for the period, Nov. 16, 1708, to Feb. 15, 1708/9 (State Archives, Dover, Delaware), mention Christian Steelman of New Castle, "cordwainer" (shoemaker), and his wife, Mary, administratrix of James Claypoole of New Castle, deceased. (On July 24, 1706, letters of administration on the estate of James Claypoole of New Castle, gentleman, "who lately died intestate," were granted to Mary Claypoole. New Castle County Wills, Book B-1, p. 112.) James Claypoole was clerk of the New Castle Court as early as July 30, 1690, when the Provincial Council in Philadelphia, "understanding that James Claypoole, Clark of New Castle County, was in Towne," sent for him. (*Colonial Records of Pennsylvania: Minutes of the Provincial Council*, I, 341.) On Oct. 22, 1695, James Claypoole and Mary, his wife, were among the friends named in the will of Mary William, of the Town of New Castle. (New Castle County Wills, Book B-1, p. 33.)

A somewhat unexpected reference to Christian Steelman appears in the Minutes of Chester Monthly Meeting for Nov. 27, 1710, and again on Dec. 25, 1710, when he is spoken of, not as a member, but as having been on the Queen's road "between New Castle and Christeen Ferry." ("Chester Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1681-1721," copy in the library of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania.)

27. Mr. Biörk and his wife, Christina.[20] Johan van de Wer and his wife, Maria.[21] Kerstin [Walrawen], Jesper's [Gisbert's] widow. Måns Gustafsson and his wife, Catharina. Regner von Culen and his wife, Ingrid.[22] Johan Culen and his wife, Kerstin. Sven Colsberg's [Colesberry's] widow, Elisabeth. Kerstin, Conrad's [Conrad Constantine's] daughter.

JULY 11. Asmund Stedham's widow, Mrs. Margareta.

18. Aron Johan's [Johansson's, Johnson's] widow, Barbro, in her illness.[23]

25. Peter Månsson and his wife, Karin, also the son Johannes.

20. This is the final record of Eric Biörk's presence as a communicant in Holy Trinity Church. Two days later he and his wife, their five children and a foster child, and his wife's sister Maria, with her husband, John Vandever, set out for Bohemia Landing, in Maryland, to take ship. Many friends made this first part of the journey with them. Mr. Sandel and others had come from Philadelphia, and Mr. Lidenius, from New Jersey; others waited for them "at the Christina bridge." (Cf. Sandel's "Diary," p. 160.) The general feeling about Biörk's departure is expressed in a letter sent to Bishop Swedberg by the Christina and Wicaco congregations: "By his edifying sermöns and exalted, virtuous life, [he] acquired and leaves after him such great renown that both Swedes and English lament his going away with many tears." (Norberg, *op. cit.*, p. 32.)

21. John Vandever, "Cornelius' son," died in Sweden before May 3, 1720, and his widow married Hans George Smith, with whom, and her daughter Catharina Vandever, she returned to the Delaware. (Cf. Sandel, "Diary," p. 191; *Delaware History*, V, 196.)

22. Cf. Census of the Wicaco Congregation, 1697-98, in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, II, 228, where "Culen's children," living at Crum Creek (Chester, now Delaware County, Pennsylvania), are listed as Jacob, Reigner, Gregory, and Maria. There were other Culen and von Culen families, also, in Chester County at this period.

The possibility that an earlier Reigner Vanderculen, Von der Coelen, Vanderculine, frequently mentioned in New Castle County records, was the father of the Reigner who appears in Holy Trinity records seems to be ruled out by his will, dated Apr. 2, 1695 (New Castle County Wills, Miscellaneous Book 1, p. 470), and the subsequent administration (*ibid.*, Book B-1, p. 177), in which four daughters, but no sons, are mentioned. Cf. *Delaware History*, V, 191*n*.

23. Aaron Johnson Vandenburgh, better known as Aaron Johnson of Bread and Cheese Island, made his will on Jan. 3, 1694, thirteen years before his death. It was a brief and simple bequest of all his property to his wife, as sole heir.

A codicil added on Nov. 20, 1701, reflects the enriched spiritual life which Eric Biörk's ministry and the new church at Christina had brought to the community. There is full reaffirmation of the intent of the original will, but provision is made for later benefits, following the widow's death, to "the Sweeds' Church that is Built upon Christina, named Church of the Holy Trinity," and its pastor, "the Reverend Minister Mr. Erricus Biorck, for his many Good services done unto me and my Wife." (Cf. New Castle County Wills, Book B-1, p. 131.)

When Mr. Biörk's departure for Sweden became imminent, and his successor arrived, the church wardens, acting on behalf of the widow, Barbara James Johnson Vandenburgh, fulfilled Aaron's wish that some part of his estate, either real or personal, be given to the minister, by deeding to him on June 21, 1712, a 110-acre tract

AUGUST 10. Old Mrs. Brita Gustafs, in her illness.[24]

22. Mårten Gustafsson and his wife, Brita.

29. Mag.[ister] Hesselius and his wife [Sara]. Gustaf Hesselius.[25] J.[esper] Swedberg.[26] Herr Abraham Lidenius. Lucas Stedham, [with the son] Lucas and the daughter Ingeborg. Johan Gustafsson and his wife, Brita. . . . [An]dersson, from St. George's.

SEPTEMBER 12. Jacob van de Wer [and his] wife, Maria.

19. Christiern B. . . .[27]

OCTOBER 17. Jonas W[alrawen] and his wife, Annika. Lucas Stedham's wife, Catharina. Måns Gustafsson and his wife, Catharine. Johan Stalcop, with his wife, Maria.

NOVEMBER 28. Gustaf Gustafsson, Junior,[28] and his wife, Kerstin.[29]

DECEMBER 25. Mrs. Maria Braun, Walborg Ostersen.

26. Mrs. Brita Dunken.

COMMUNICANTS IN THE YEAR 1715

[Second Book, p. 57]

JANUARY 9. Johan Tossawa's daughter Elisabeth, in her illness.

of land. On June 29, 1714, the land was conveyed, in a deed signed by both Eric Biörk and the widow, to James Robinson of "Wedgbury," in Mill Creek Hundred, whose property the tract adjoined. Later, James Robinson, "for and in Consideration of the dutiful Affection, love & Good Will Which I have and doo bear unto the Church of England . . . of which I profess myself a member," gave a portion of the land to St. James' Church at White Clay Creek (Stanton). Cf. New Castle County Deeds, Book S-1, p. 296, and Book H-1, p. 100.

24. This use of Gustafs as a surname, with no suggestion of an intended possessive form, is, perhaps, the writer's approach to the Justis spelling which had been used much earlier in Wicaco and other Philadelphia records.

25. Brother of Andreas Hesselius. A portrait painter of considerable note. Cf. *Delaware History*, II, 65, 87.

26. Son of Bishop Jesper Swedberg of the Church of Sweden. At the time this entry was made the younger Swedberg had been visiting at the home of Gustaf Hesselius for several months. Cf. Sandel, "Diary," p. 163.

27. This is almost certainly Christiern (Christian) Brunberg, later Brynberg. (Cf. *Delaware History*, V, 198.) Baptismal records of Holy Trinity Church, Second Book, p. 55, name Christiern Brunberg as a sponsor on Oct. 16, 1715.

28. Cf. *Delaware History*, V, 185, *n.* 9.

29. Christiana, wife of Gustaf Gustafsson (Justa Justis), Jr., was a daughter of Neils and Mary Lycan of the Northern Liberties, Philadelphia County. Cf. New Castle County Deeds, Book Q-1, p. 524; also, *Delaware History*, V, 200*n*.

16. Mag.[ister] And.[reas] Hesselius, with his wife, Sara. Jacob van de Wer, with his wife, Maria. And.[ers] Gustafsson, with his wife, Brita.

23. Johan Giöding and his wife, Annika.

26. Peter [Petersson] Caupeny, in his illness.

FEBRUARY 13. Herr Abraham Lidenius. The widow Elisabeth von Neeman, with the daughter Elisabeth. Conrad Constantin and his wife, Kerstin, with the daughter Maria. Peter Petersson's widow, Mrs. Helena.

[Page 58]:

14. Maria Peterssen, in her illness.

27. Mårten Gustafsson and his wife, Brita.

MARCH 20. Johan Gustafsson and his wife, Brita. Måns Gustafsson and his wife, Catharina. Mary Moyer.

23. Albertus Wolbach, in his illness, and his wife, Barbro.

24. Heike [Henric] Orrhan, in his illness.

APRIL 3. Carl Springer and his wife, Maria. Staphan Cornelius' wife, Williaminki.[30]

8. Jonas Stalcop, in his illness.

9. Edward Milsson's wife, Sara, in her illness.

13. Hindric Hindricsson's [Hendrickson's] wife, Judica [Judith], in her illness.

17. Jonas Walrawen and his wife, Annika. Old Mrs. Brita Gustafs. Peter Månsson and his wife, Karin. Johan Culen and his wife, Kerstin. Lucas Stedham and his wife, Karin, also the son Lucas. Peter Classon [Clawson]. Jacob van de Wer and his wife, Maria.

30. James Steel, of the Provincial Land Office, wrote from Philadelphia on Feb. 7, 1723:

> My Old Friend Cha: Springer
>
> I rec'd thy Letter by the hand of thy Brother in law Stephen Cornelius . . . .

(James Steel's Letter Book, No. 1, p. 57. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

Stephen Cornelius' wife, Williaminke (Wilhelmina?) must therefore have been a daughter of the Hendrickson family, as was Charles Springer's wife, Maria, whom he married on Dec. 27, 1685. In the letters written to Charles Springer by James Steel during the years 1721-31, there are numerous references to "thy Brother" John Hendrickson.

Timotheus Lylofsson Stedham. Philip van de Wer. Olof Pål's [Paulson's, Poulson's] widow, Mrs. Kerstin, also the son Olof Pålsson and his wife, Elisabeth. [Hans] Petersson and his wife, Annika. Hindric Stedham. Christiern Stellman [Steelman]. Aron [Johnson's widow], Barbro. Johan Tossawa and his wife, Annika, also the daughter Elisabeth. Pete[r Meyer's wife] Sara. Jesper Walrawen's widow, Mrs. Kerstin. James Andersson, Jöran's son, [and his wife] Sara. Måns Andersson from St. George's and his wife, Elisabeth. [Olof Tossawa's] widow, Mrs. Gertrud.

20. Peter Petersson and his wife, ...

29. [Jonas] Shagen's [Skagen's, Scagen's] widow, Mrs. Elisabeth . . . .

MAY 22. Erik Eriksson from Crane Hook, with . . ., also the son Erik.

JUNE 5. Conrad Constantin and his wife, Kerstin [the daughter] Maria, also the son Constantin. Johan Cock's widow, from St. George's, Mrs. Bri[ta]. [Johan Iwar's, Iwarsson's, Iverson's] widow, Maria. Hendric Iwar's widow, Elisabeth, also the daughter [Wal]borg, from St. George's. Gustaf Gustafsson and his wife, Kerstin. Hindric Hindricsson and his wife, Judic. Anders Loinan [Lynam] and his wife, Brita.

12. Mårten Gustafsson and his wife, Brita. William Maslander and his wife, Helena.

14. Brewr Senec's [Senex's, Sinnex's, Sinneckson's] widow, Sophia, in her illness.

19. Jacob van de Wer and his wife, Maria. Johannes Månsson and his wife, Ingeborg.

JULY 5. Jöran Andersson, at St. George's, and his wife, Maria, in their illness.

31. Thomas Jonsson and his wife, Margareta. Samuel Stedham. Anders Cock and his wife, Sara.

AUGUST 7. Peter Paul's [Paulson's, Poulson's] wife, Geizie. Johan William Lerchenzeiler, with his wife. Johan Didrich Elrod, with his wife, Maria Magdalena.

24. Lucas Stedham's wife, Karin, in her illness.

27. Visited Mr. Lidenius, Mag.[ister] Hesselius and his wife, Sara, also Mrs. Helena Peterssen, with the Lord's Supper, in their illness.

OCTOBER 2. Johan Culen and his wife, Kerstin.

23. Johan Giöding and his wife, Annika.

NOVEMBER 20. Mårten Gustafsson and his wife, Brita.

COMMUNICANTS IN THE YEAR 1716

[Second Book, p. 69]

JANUARY 1. Jonas Walrawen and his wife, Annika. Conrad Constantin and his wife, Kerstin. Ante [Anders, Andrew] Wainan's [Vining's] wife, Margareta.

29. Anders Gustafsson's wife, Brita. Johan Gustafsson and his wife, Brita.

FEBRUARY 5. Peter Classon and his wife, Walborg.

12. Anders Loinan and his wife, Brita. Johan Giöding and his wife, Annika.

26. Brita Dunken.

MARCH 4. Mrs. Brita London and Jesper Walrawen.

18. Christiern Brunberg [Brynberg]. Christiern Stellman. Philip Van de Wer. Anders Gustafsson and his wife, Brita, in her illness.

APRIL 1. Johan Giöding and his wife, Annika. Lerchenzeiler, with his wife, from Threehook [Third Hook].[31] Jacob

31. Benjamin Ferris, of Wilmington, in one of his notebooks now in the library of the Historical Society of Delaware describes "Tridie Hoeck" (Third Hook) as an elevated point of land on the north side of Brandywine Creek, "just below Vandever's place." A low valley lying between the hook and the Vandever property was covered with water in 1655, says Ferris, so that Vandever's land was virtually an island, and was called "Timber Island." (Benjamin Ferris, "Nya Swerige or a History of New Sweden and other Early Settlements on the Delaware together with An Historical Review of the Origin and Present State of the City of Wilmington, in the State of Delaware" [MS book in the library of the Historical Society of Delaware], p. 69.)

Van de Wer and his wife, Maria. Mrs. Helena Peterssen. Jonas Stalcop and his wife, Judith. Hindrich Stedham and his wife, Elisabeth. Måns Gustafsson, with his wife, Catharina, and the sister Helena.[32]

15. The pastor's wife, Sara Hesslia. Erasmus Stedham.

22. Gustaf Gustafsson and his wife, Kerstin.

MAY 20. Johan Didrich Elrod and his wife, Maria Magdalena. Peter Månsson and his wife, Karin. Mårten Gustafsson and his wife, Brita. Johan von Culen and his wife, Kerstin.

27. Eric Ericsson from Crane Hook, with his wife, Annika, and the son Eric.

JUNE 3. William Maslander and his wife, Helena.

10. Albertus Wolbach's widow, Mrs. Barbro.

24. Bertil [Bartholomew] Johan's wife, Maria, from Elk River.

JULY 1. Israel Petersson and his wife, Margareta. Mrs. Brita Dunken. Johannes Måns' [Månsson's] wife, Ingeborg.

8. The pastor and his wife, Sara. Mr. Lidenius and his wife, Elisabeth. Mrs. Brita, old Joh.[an] Gustaf's widow. Jonas Walrawen and his wife, Annika. Kerstin Walrawen and Kerstin Mårtens [Mortonson, Morton]. Maria Peterssen.

AUGUST 26. Herr Gustaf Hesselius. Jacob Van de Wer and his wife, Maria. Philip Van de Wer.

On July 29, 1685, William Penn's commissioners confirmed to Jacob "Vandeveer" 535 acres on the north side of Brandywine Creek which had been granted to him by Governor Francis Lovelace on Mar. 24, 1668. (New Castle County Deeds, Book B-1, p. 51.) Land south of Brandywine Creek and "lyeing adjacent to Jacob Vannivers island" was granted to Robert Jones by patent on June 6, 1670. (*Original Land Titles in Delaware . . . The Duke of York Record . . . 1646 to 1679* [Wilmington, 1903], p. 144.) On Jan. 29, 1684/5 a survey was made of Vandever's island, plantation, tract of land, and meadow, and the survey map shows the dwelling house on the island and the bridge connecting the island with other parts of the property. (New Castle County Survey, Book A, pp. 524-25.)

32. "Helena, Gustaf's daughter, from Skullkyl," was one of the sponsors at the baptism of her brother Mårten Gustafsson's child Gustaf on Mar. 25, 1716. (Holy Trinity Records, Second Book, p. 66.)

SEPTEMBER 9. Conrad Constantin and his wife, Kerstin.

16. Peter Pål's wife, Geizie. Christiern Stellman. Christiern Brunberg. Måns Gustafsson and his wife, Catharina. Jesper Walrawen and his wife, Maria. Sara, Jesper's daughter, Walrawen. Johan Stalcop and his wife, Maria.

[Page 70]:

23. Olof Tossawa's widow, Mrs. Gertrud, in her last illness.

OCTOBER 21. The pastor's wife, Sara Hesselia.

NOVEMBER 4. Hindrich Stedham and his wife, Elisabeth.

18. Anders Gustafsson and his wife, Brita. Anders Stalcop. Erasmus Stedham and his wife, Helena.

25. Anders Loinan and his wife, Brita.

DECEMBER 9. Mårten Gustafsson and his wife, Brita.

16. Johan Giöding and his wife, Annika, also Israel Stalcop.[33]

25. Peter Petersson, over Brandywine, with his wife, Karin.

26. Jonas Walrawen and his wife, Annika. Mrs. Maria Braun. Kerstin Walrawen. Kerstin Mårtens.

COMMUNICANTS IN THE YEAR 1717

[Second Book, p. 81]

JANUARY 1. Lucas Stedham, Junior, and his wife, Ingeborg. Mrs. Brita Dunken. Cath.[arina] Slubby [Sluby]. Bennet [Benedictus, Benjamin] Stedham.

6. Eric Eric's [Erickson's] widow and the son Eric, from Crane Hook.

20. Jacob Van de Wer and his wife, Maria.

FEBRUARY 17. Mag.[ister] Hesselius' wife, Sara.

MARCH 10. Johannes Månsson and his wife, Ingeborg.

33. Johan Giöding's wife, Annika, was the widow of John Stalcop and the daughter of John and Magdalena Erickson of Salem County, New Jersey. Cf. *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey, Calendar of Records in the Office of the Secretary of State, 1664-1703*, published in *Archives of . . . New Jersey*, First Series, XXI (Paterson, N. J., 1899), 595, 617, 620. Jonas and Israel Stalcop were her sons, as later communicant records prove. Cf. *Delaware History*, V, 187.

APRIL 7. Johan Gustafsson and his wife, Brita. Eshel [Eskel] Johansson.[34] Mary Davis.

14. Johan Didrich Elrod's wife, Maria Magdalena.

21. Mag.[ister] Hesselius' wife, Sara. Lucas Stedham's wife, Catharina. Mr. Springer and his wife, Maria. Jacob Van de Wer and his wife, Maria. Philip Van de Wer. Johan von Culen and his wife, Kerstin. Conrad Constantin and his wife, Kerstin. Hendrich Garrisson and his wife, Kerstin. Augustin Constantin. William Abrams' wife, Maria. Måns Gustafsson and his wife, Catharina. Gustaf Gustafsson and his wife, Kerstin. Maria Peterssen. Sara, Jesper's daughter, Walrawen. Peter Månsson and his wife, Karin. Hindrich Stedham and his wife, Elisabeth. Johan Tossawa and his wife, Annika. Hans Petersson's wife, Annika. Erasmus Stedham and his wife, Helena. Anders Loinan and his wife, Brita. Jesper Walrawen's widow, Mrs. Kerstin. Magdalena Peterssen.

28. Jöran Andersson, from St. George's. Jonas Walrawen, with his mother-in-law, Mrs. Brita, and his wife, Annika, also the daughter Kerstin, the stepdaughter, Christina, [and] Mårten Mårtensson.[35] Johan Hindrich Lerchenzeiler, with his wife, Susanna Catharina.

34. Cf. *Delaware History*, V, 183, *n.* 8.

35. Mathias (Matthias) Morton, son of Morton Mortonson, Sr., died in Ridley Township, Chester, now Delaware, County, Pennsylvania, at some time between June 20, 1706, and June 7, 1713, when his widow, Annika, having married Jonas Walraven, Sr., of the Christina congregation, appears in the church records as a communicant (see entry for that date).

On the earlier date, June 20, 1706, Mathias Morton, who owned property in West New Jersey as well as in Pennsylvania, submitted the inventory of a New Jersey estate which he had been appointed to administer. (Cf. *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey, Calendar of New Jersey Wills, 1670-1730*, published in *Archives . . . of New Jersey*, First Series, XXIII [Paterson, N. J., 1901], 466.) He himself died intestate, and the deed books of Chester County give abundant evidence as to his heirs, but none as to the exact date of his death.

Before 1691, when the eldest child was born, Mathias had married Annika (Anna) Justis, daughter of John and Brita Justis. (Cf. Census of the Wicaco Congregation, *Pennsylvania Magazine*, II, 228.) Of their seven children, Andrew, Morton, Maria, John, Christiana, Peter, and Mathias, all but Andrew, who remained on the home place in Chester County, moved with their mother to New Castle County when she married Jonas Walraven.

JUNE 9. Olof Pålsson's widow, Mrs. Kerstin, and the son Peter. [Hendric] Iwar's widow, from St. George's, Mrs. Elisabeth. Mrs. Maria Brun [Braun]. Mårten Gustafsson and his wife, Brita.

16. Mag.[ister] Hesselius' wife, Sara. Mr. Gustaf Hesselius. Will.[iam] Maslander and his wife, Helena. Stephan Cornelius and his wife, Williaminke. Samuel Petersson. Olof Pålsson and his wife, Elisabeth.

30. Cornelius la Quett [Jaquett] and his wife, Maria.

JULY 7. Joh.[an] Giöding and his wife, Annika. Mrs. Brita Dunken. Jacob Van de Wer and his wife, Maria.

21. Eric Ericsson's widow, with her son Eric, from Crane Hook.

28. Timotheus Adamsson Stedham and his wife, Engelkie.

AUGUST 18. Hindrich Stedham and his wife, Elisabeth.

24. Johannes Månsson's wife, Ingeborg, in her illness.

SEPTEMBER 15. Jonas Walrawen, with his wife, Annika, mother-in-law, Mrs. Brita, the daughters Kerstin Walr.[awen], Christina Mårtens. Mårten Mårtensson. Samuel Petersson. Maria Peterssen. Mary Davis. Sara, Jesper's daughter, Walrawen. Ante Vainan's wife, Margareta, also young Anders Gustaf's wife, Sara, in her illness.

[Page 82]:

29. Pastor Mag.[ister] Hesselius' wife, Sara. Lucas Stedh.[am], Junior, and his wife, Ingeborg. Christiern Brunberg. Ante Vainan [Vining]. Johan Gustafsson and his wife, Brita.

OCTOBER 17. Hendrich Stedham's wife, Elisabeth, in her illness.

NOVEMBER 10. Johan Giöding and his wife, Annika.

17. Conrad Constantin. Hindrich Garrisson and his wife, Kerstin. Erasmus Stedham and his wife, Helena.

24. Peter Pålsson's wife, Geizie. Jesper Walrawen and his wife, Mary, also his mother, Mrs. Kerstin.

DECEMBER 8. Johan Hindrich Lerchenzeiler, with his wife, Susanna Catharina. Eric Ericsson's widow, from Crane Hook, with the son Eric.

18. William Van de Wer, in his illness.

COMMUNICANTS IN THE YEAR 1718

[Second Book, p. 87]

JANUARY 1. Mag.[ister] Hesselius' wife, Sara. Mrs. Maria Braun. Måns Gustafsson and his wife, Catharina. Johan Von Culen and his wife, Kerstin. Samuel Petersson and his sister Maria. Sara, Jesper's daughter, Walrawen. The maidservant, Hanna Ellis. Annika Tossawa. Anders Stalcop and his wife, Barbro.[36] Jonas Stalcop and his wife, Judith. Israel Stalcop. Mårten Gustafsson and his wife, Brita. Eshel Johansson.

5. Jonas Walrawen and his wife, Annika. Mårten Mårtensson, Christina Mårtens, and Kerstin Walrawen.

8. Johan Gustafsson's aged widow, Mrs. Brita.

12. Anders Loinan and Hindrich Stedham.

FEBRUARY 9. Mag.[ister] Sandel. Mag.[ister] Hesselius and his wife, Sara. Brita Dunken. Cath.[arina] Slubby. Peter Månsson, Junior, and his wife, Annika. Peter Mayer's wife, Sara. Hanna Ellis.

16. Bertil Johansson, from Elk River. Anders Loinan's wife, Brita.

23. Philip Van de Wer. Jacob Van de Wer and his wife, Maria.

MARCH 2. Johan Giöding and his wife, Annika.

9. Timotheus Lylofsson Stedham and his wife, Elisabeth.

16. Peter Månsson and his wife, Karin. Ante Vainan and wife, Margareta.

30. Lerchenzeiler, with his wife, Susanna Catharina, from Third Hook.

36. Andrew Stalcop married on May 23, 1717, Anna Barbara, widow of Albert Woolbough. (Holy Trinity Records, Second Book, pp. 77, 85; *Delaware History*, V, 183.)

APRIL 6. Mag.[ister] Hesselius' wife, Sara. Lucas Stedham's wife, Karin. Johan Gustafsson and his wife, Brita. Måns Gustafsson and his wife, Catharina. Jacob Stille [Stilley] and his wife, Rebecca.[37] Hanna Ellis. Sara, Jesper's daughter, Walrawen. Erasmus Stedham and his wife, Helena. Hindrich Stedham.

13. Mr. Gustaf Hesselius. Carl Springer and his wife, Maria. Jonas Walrawen and his wife, Annika, mother-in-law, Mrs. Brita, the daughters Kerstin Mårten and Kerstin Walrawen, also the stepson Mårten Mårtens. Maria Peterssen and Samuel Petersson. Mårten Gustafsson and his wife, Brita. Christian Stilman. Anders Gustafsson and his wife, Brita. Anders Kock and his wife, Sara. William Cleany [Cleneay] and his wife, Maria.[38] Annika Tossawa. Bertil Johansson's wife, Maria, from Elk River.

20. Johan Giöding and his wife, Annika.

28. Mrs. Maria Braun, in her illness.

MAY 4. Mrs. Brita Dunken, in her illness.

11. Christiern Stilman, in his illness.

JUNE 1. Anders Loinan and his wife, Brita. Conrad Constantin and his wife, Kerstin, also the son Augustin Constantin. Mrs. Brita London. Mrs. Ingeborg Månssen. Christiern Jöran's widow, Mrs. Elisabeth.

22. Hindrich Garrisson and his wife, Kerstin. Hindrich Hindricsson's wife, Judith. Mary Davis.

29. Mårten Mårtensson and his wife, Kerstin. Stephan Cornelius and his wife, Williamin[ke].

[Page 88]:

37. Jacob Stilley, probably son of Andrew Stilley (often called Andries Tilly or Tille in early New Castle records) and Annettje, his wife, married at some time before 1713, Rebecca, daughter of Charles and Maria (Hendrickson) Springer. The marriage is confirmed by Holy Trinity communicant records for Apr. 9, 1721, Second Book, p. 121. Jacob and Rebecca's two eldest sons, Andrew and Jonathan, were born before the practice of entering baptismal records in the church books began.

38. William Cleneay married on July 31, 1716, Maria, daughter of Charles and Maria (Hendrickson) Springer. (Francis Holcomb, *Sketch of Early Ecclesiastical Affairs in New Castle, Delaware, and History of Immanuel Church* [Wilmington, 1890], p. 218.)

July	6.	Johan Giöding and his wife, Annika. William Maslander and his wife, Helena.
	13.	Mag.[ister] Hesselius' wife, Sara. Jonas Walrawen, with his wife, Annika, and mother-in-law, Mrs. Brita Gustafsson, also the stepdaughter, Kerstin. Matz Petersson's wife, Elisabeth, with her children Samuel and Mary. Anders Gustafsson and his wife, Brita. Hanna Ellis.
	20.	Mårten Gustafsson and his wife, Brita. Jacob Van de Wer and his wife, Maria. Annika Tossawa.
	24.	Brita Dunken, in her illness.
August	3.	Mr. Gustaf Hesselius.
	31.	Peter Månsson and his wife, Karin. Måns Gustafsson and his wife, Katharina. Sara, Jesper's daughter, Walrawen. Christopher Stedham and his wife, Hanna.
September	7.	Jacob Stille and his wife, Rebecca.
	14.	Johan von Culen and his wife, Kerstin.
	21.	Peter Mayer's wife, Sara.
October	5.	Anders Loinan and his wife, Brita. Young Peter Månsson and his wife, Annika.
	26.	Mag.[ister] Hesselius' wife, Sara, and the maidservant, Hanna Ellis.
November	2.	Erasmus Stedham and his wife, Helena. Hindrich Stedham. Also, Peter Månsson, in his illness.
	9.	Jonas Walrawen, with his wife, Annika, and mother-in-law, Mrs. Brita, the son-in-law Mårten Mårtensson, with his wife, Kerstin, the stepdaughter Christina Mårtens. Anders Gustafsson and his wife, Brita.
	16.	Philip Van de Wer and his wife, Elisabeth. Catharina Slubby.
	23.	William Cleany and his wife, Mary.
	30.	Mårten Gustafsson and his wife, Brita, also the maidservant, Annika Tossawa. Hindrich Garrisson and his wife, Kerstin.

DECEMBER 7. Måns Gustafsson and his wife, Catharina, mother-in-law, Mrs. Kerstin Walrawen, and sister-in-law Sara Walrawen. Matz Petersson's wife, Elisabeth, with her children Samuel and Mary. Johan Giöding and his wife, Annika. Conrad Constantin, with his wife, Kerstin, and the son Augustin.

26. Johan Gustafsson and his wife, Brita. Jacob Stille and his wife, Rebecca. Lucas Lucasson Stedham and his wife, Ingeborg. Magdalena Petersson. Ingeborg, Lylof's daughter, Stedham.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

News Notes And Book Reports

By Marie Windell

IN the days when New Castle was a port of international prominence, at the turn of the nineteenth century, the streets were crowded with sailors from many nations, the jail overflowed with French marines from the men-of-war captured in the Quasi-War with France, and the city flourished from the war-induced prosperity. A picture of the city, in those days when Italian straw bonnets bobbed along the street by the side of blue coated and gold tasseled uniforms from many countries, was the subject for the address by Dr. John H. Powell, of Philadelphia, at the annual meeting of the Historical Society, April 13, at the Old Town Hall. His entertaining panorama covered the general period, 1770 to 1820, but centered on the more exciting years when the wealth flowing into the town was making possible the building of those homes and public buildings which are now the pride of the town.

Judge Richard S. Rodney, the President of the Society, presented on behalf of the members a tribute in memory of the late Colonel Daniel Moore Bates, a director of the Society. Colonel Bates' constant interest in the welfare of the Society and in the history of the state placed him as the first "among those who are interested in preserving and restoring those places in Delaware of which we are so justly proud," Judge Rodney said.

The Reverend Dr. John Watson Christie, pastor of Westminister Presbyterian Church and president of the Presbyterian Historical Society, was elected to succeed Colonel Bates as director. The other nineteen directors were re-elected for the succeeding year.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the opening of the Old Town Hall as the museum and library of the Historical Society was commemorated May 11, 1953. From that evening meeting on Friday in 1928, the museum has grown to displays in fifteen cases of Delaware objects, pertaining to the private and public life of her citizens, extending in time from Indian arrowheads to medals of heroes from the last war, but emphasizing primarily Delaware life before 1840. The small library of 1928 has expanded to fill two rooms and contains many Delaware imprints and other rare books. The outstanding manuscript collections, such as the Brown, Rodney, and Morse deposits, were made in this period, as well as the acquisition of the most extensive collection of early Delaware newspapers.

In this quarter-century the staff has compiled many museum and library aids—identification and description of the objects in the museum; indexes of

genealogical records (births, baptisms, marriages, and deaths); indexes of the manuscript collections; and other aids for historical research. Certain of the indexes have been made by the staff from newspapers and other sources, and other aids have been furnished to the Society for reproduction. These keys to research cannot be finished, of course, but continue to be in progress as the collections of the Society grow.

Publications by the Society, an indication of the activity of its members, have been numerous. The publication of Christopher L. Ward's *The Delaware Continentals,* and George H. Ryden's *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney* offer rich sources for investigators in the Delaware Revolutionary field. The second series of publications was inaugurated by the Society in 1927, and the journal, *Delaware History,* was first published in 1946.

During the quarter-century, the Society has had only three presidents and six members of the research staff, the latter averaging seven years of service each, since some have served concurrently. A final indication of the changes of the past twenty-five years is to be found in the rise in membership from 125 in 1928, 174 in January, 1940, to 850 in 1953.

The restoration of Old St. Anne's Church near Middletown, one of the beautiful colonial churches of America and built in 1768, has been undertaken, and regular summer services were held in 1952 and 1953. The present structure is of brick, two stories high, decorated with plaster cornices and a vaulted ceiling. Despite previous efforts at preservation, many repairs in wood and brick work have become necessary. The congregation, which applied in 1704 for a grant of land to build a chapel, first worshiped in a primitive log structure, which, however, was graced by an altar cloth worked and presented by Queen Anne, of England, and a silver communion beaker made by Johannis Nys in 1723, the only piece of this silversmith which is known to have been made in this state. During the period when the location of the present church was under discussion, its competition in the boom of mid-century with land use for trade and productive agriculture limited its choice of sites. In a letter from Appoquinimink, February 4, 1760, the Reverend Philip Reading described the commissioners' choice to be on land "sandy and barren, lying on the edge of a road . . . which . . . [follows] the nature of trade in these parts . . . so that the tract itself cannot be prejudiced by a grant in that place." Despite the problems involved in determining its location, Reading praised the finished church in 1772 as one "that would do credit to a populous city."

The relocation of the "Post Mark'd West," the base point of the survey of the Maryland-Pennsylvania border by Charles Mason and Jeremiah

Dixon in 1764, has been marked by a shaft of Brandywine granite, which was dedicated June 19. The site had been originally marked by a wooden post and used as their base point for the survey and for their measurements of longitude in the New World on behalf of the Royal Observatory in London. The post had long since been lost, however, and the location forgotten, though its existence was referred to in scientific journals. The present marker is located in a glade on the farm of Mr. S. Hallock du Pont on Paper Mill Road near Newark and was dedicated before a gathering that included Judge Richard S. Rodney, historians, and others interested in Delaware history. The speakers of the occasion were Dr. Thomas D. Cope, of the University of Pennsylvania, one of the leading authorities on the scientific work of the surveyors, and Mr. William T. Mahoney, a member of the Historical Society, whose research and enthusiasm led to the marking of the site. Mr. Leroy Haitsch, a civil engineer, of Holly Oak, who resurveyed the site on the basis of data prepared by Mr. Mahoney, unveiled the granite shaft, which had been erected by Mr. du Pont.

1953 marks the sesquicentennial anniversary of the publication of Samuel Miller's *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century,* a scholarly work by the Delawarean who was a Presbyterian minister and the first professor of ecclesiastical history of Princeton Theological Seminary. Following the appearance of his two-volume *Retrospect* in 1803, before he was thirty-five, he became widely known in American and British literary and educational circles. The full title of the work indicates its extent: *Containing a Sketch of the Revolutions and Improvements in Science, Arts, and Literature, during that Period.* The work, dedicated to John Dickinson, developed from a sermon given by Miller on New Year's Day, 1801, to review the achievements of the previous century. While its primary emphasis is on the arts and sciences of Europe, some American data is to be found here, including a history of newspaper publishing and the first comprehensive account of education in the United States. In essence, it records a summary of the most advanced thinking by American scholars at the time. Miller was assisted in this work by many, including his brother Edward, a physician, and Charles Brockden Brown, the novelist. The Historical Society owns a copy of the first volume of the *Retrospect,* which was once the property of Samuel White, the Whig Senator from Delaware, and later owned by William P. Brobson, the Wilmington editor, whose veneration for the author prompted his reminder, written on a flyleaf, that he had heard Miller deliver a sermon in Wilmington, November 22, 1812.

The disposition of the collection of antique furnishings of "Woodburn," near Dover, dispersed by a recent sale, aroused among many Delawareans

both interest and concern. Many of the items were made by local cabinetmakers, such as Duncan Beard, of Appoquinimink, and James McDowell, of Duck Creek, now Smyrna, and their purchase by Delawareans permits a study of the local craft. A swell front bureau, made of holly wood and mahogany inlay, and signed by James McDowell, has been lent by Mr. J. Kenneth Danby, a director of the Historical Society, for display in the Old Town Hall. The keyhole escutcheons are conspicuous, and an unusual valance skirt extends gracefully into tapered bracket feet. The canted corners are inlaid to simulate reeded columns. The original brasses are oval in shape and engraved "H. J." in the handles.

In 1786 McDowell purchased a lot in Smyrna to carry on, until his death in 1836, the business of cabinetmaking with Daniel McDowell. Until about the year 1825, he worked in a log building but lived in the frame house, which then became his showroom and workshop. His son and grandson of the same name followed him in the trade.

The four-room cellar of the John Dickinson Mansion has been excavated in part by the members of the Archaeological Society of Delaware and the staff of the Delaware State Museum. The commission for the mansion hopes that the fragments of glassware, china, and tableware which have been found will make it possible to restore some pieces for the house when it has been furnished and opened to the public. One room of the cellar has a brick floor, which will be preserved. Next spring, the Society will excavate the nearby fields, which are supposed to be the sites of the outbuildings and slave quarters.

Members of the Delaware Swedish Colonial Society met March 23 to commemorate the Delaware Swedish colonial day and for an address by Dr. Ernest J. Moyne, of the University of Delaware, entitled, "Baroness Alexandria Gripenberg's America of 1888." The baroness was a Swedish noblewoman whose published accounts of her American travels show her to be an observant visitor, interested in Scandanavians abroad and the cause of woman suffrage.

Mr. Harold Hancock, who is familiar to readers of *Delaware History* for his previous contributions to the magazine relating to Delaware loyalists, is preparing a history of the state during the Civil War. He is particularly in need of information concerning the location in private libraries of correspondence and diaries compiled during that conflict which will reflect the social, economic, and political changes of the period.

Descendants of the Clymer and Harris families in Delaware may be able to answer a query of Miss Lucile L. Hutson, of Sandusky, Ohio, who

wishes to learn the parentage and place of birth of Charles Fountain Clymer (1765-April 25, 1815) and the name and parentage of his first wife. His second wife was Nancy, daughter of Thomas Needles and Sarah Cubbage Needles, of Kent County; the children of both first and second marriages are known to Miss Hutson, who is descended from a child of the unidentified first wife and Clymer, born in Delaware before his father's removal to Ohio.

New Publications of Delaware Interest

The War of the Revolution, by the late Christopher L. Ward, former president of the Historical Society, has been published in two volumes by the Macmillan Company, of New York, and his earlier readers may again look forward to vicarious participation in events, a result in part of his use of contemporary quotations and in part of his exciting literary style.

One of the greatest pleasures of unrequired reading is pursuing an enemy over hill and dale in an historical account of a military engagement. The excitement of the chase is still present, and time has softened the depression that is brought by reading of bloodshed. Great events are put in motion by the acts of a few men: deeds small enough in space and scope to be encompassed by the imagination but given meaning by their aftermath. This general enjoyment offered by the drama of military action is particularly to be found in those alarms and excursions of the American Revolution, and doubly so for Delawareans who frequently look back to that period as a Golden Age for the state.

Mr. Ward's study of the land campaigns of the Revolution presents a synthesis of the many individual battles that unite to form (what many of its participants considered it to be)—"a war of liberation." The work is organized primarily on a geographical basis—Part I, the War in the North; and Part II, the War in the South, which the chronology of the campaigns generally encourages. Readers of Mr. Ward's *Delaware Continentals* will be interested to see the activities of their heroes placed in the larger picture. A comparison of parts of the two works seems to indicate that as Mr. Ward's confidence grew with his long research in the Revolutionary field, he came to choose the specific and critical word for a general one. In the *Continentals,* for example, he searches for a nonmilitary reason for Washington's granting to Lafayette, in May, 1778, a command of one-third of the American Army to march toward the enemy, to cut communication lines, and to obtain intelligence, a force too large to effect its goal and too small to secure itself against surprise. In the *War of the Revolution,* Mr. Ward quotes Pontgibaud with approval that the "useless" and "perilous" order [Ward] was

made "partly out of friendship [for Lafayette] and partly from policy [toward the French]."

The maps included are most helpful, although no reader of military annals is perhaps ever satisfied with less than an atlas marking the progress or retreat of a given force, footprint by footprint. Some of these maps appeared in his *Continentals* but are so explicit they may well be used again. Other helps for the reader are a glossary of military terms, a series of appendices investigating particular questions, such as the feeling of animosity between northern and southern troops, a bibliography, and an index, of obvious value in a work of such extent. The editor, John Richard Alden, has added a survey chapter on the war beyond the Alleghenies, but it is to be regretted that Mr. Ward did not live to write a summary chapter on the meaning of the military activity of the Revolution for the young country.

The recent death of Douglass Southall Freeman, historian and editor, is a great loss to American scholarship. The abortive closing of his magnificent biography of George Washington with the fifth volume and the Yorktown campaign is particularly unfortunate for we lose his investigation of the Virginian in his greatest civilian roles. Delawareans are, of course, interested in his subject, but in addition for the Delaware historian there are many pertinent local references. Delaware troops accompanied Washington during his first command on the road to his successful capture of Fort Duquesne. In his intervening years as a planter, Washington had as legal antagonist, Caesar Rodney, one of the executors of Colonel Daniel Parke's estate in the Leeward Islands. Few stories of Washington's life are more remarkable, says Freeman, than that of the entaglement of his fortunes in the complicated chancery suit which grew out of Colonel Park's amours in the Leeward Islands. When Washington married Martha Dandridge Custis, he became the opponent of the illegitimate English heirs and the representative of the legitimate Parke heirs, including his wife, who had been the widow of the grandson of Colonel Parke, and his stepchildren, the great grandchildren of the colonel.

Delaware troops were necessarily affected by Washington's theories of army administration and strategy. The Middle Colonies were to furnish until December, 1776, a flying camp of 10,000 militia. While Washington believed that the short-term enlistment was responsible for the woes of the army in Canada, he did not apparently demand a longer service of the members of the flying camp, perhaps, says Freeman, because he reasoned that such a demand would defeat its own ends. To combat such a well disciplined and equipped adversary as the British, Washington needed a two-to-one superiority of

forces, hence the need for 30,000 troops from the colonies. Washington's fears for the militia proved to be correct when Haslet's Delaware Battalion almost disintegrated by January 1, 1777. Washington's harsh winter at Valley Forge, however, was to be mitigated by Delaware aid after his dispatch of officers to collect clothing in Maryland and Delaware for his ill-clothed, ill-housed troops.

The five volumes were published by C. Scribner's Sons, of New York, 1948-1952, and are entitled: *Young Washington,* I, II; *Planter and Patriot,* III; *Leader of the Revolution,* IV; and *Victory with the Help of France,* V.

The assistance given by Ambassador Thomas F. Bayard in the return to the United States of the manuscript history, "Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647," by William Bradford, probably removed by British soldiers during their Revolutionary occupation of Boston, is described by Samuel Eliot Morrison in his introduction of his edition of the official chronicle of the Pilgrim Fathers. The location of the manuscript in England and its return to Massachusetts entailed coincidence, chance, and patience. An American, browsing in a Boston book store in 1855, noticed a quotation from Bradford in a British publication, with the revealing reference, "MS History." Then began the long process of restitution, involving many petitions by individuals and learned societies, much diplomacy, and legal ingenuity, before Ambassador Thomas F. Bayard returned to the United States with the manuscript in the spring of 1897. The new edition by Dr. Morrison was published by Alfred A. Knopf in 1952 (448+ pages), and is entitled, *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647, by William Bradford.*

Miss Jeannette Eckman, the former director of the Delaware Federal Writers' Project, WPA, is now making a limited revision of *Delaware, A Guide to the First State,* first published in 1938. This second edition is being prepared for Hastings House, Publishers, of New York.

The role of the Dutch in the colonial tobacco trade of America in the seventeenth century is a question obliquely raised by Nathaniel C. Hale in his study, *The Reduction of Virginia and Maryland by the Puritans,* published by the Society of Colonial Wars, Philadelphia, in 1953. Dutch vessels in mid-century cruised along the coast, hoping to compete with the British ships for the trade of the colonies, which, of course, was closed to them by British mercantile law. Hale notes that the Dutch had aided the Virginia Royalists during the Commonwealth's blockade of that colony by transferring the tobacco trade from English to Dutch ships. A fuller explanation of this Dutch tobacco trade is to be found in the *Documents Relating to . . . the Dutch and Swedish Settlements on the Delaware.* By 1649, the Swedes on

the Delaware, who had been granted a monopoly of the tobacco trade of Sweden to encourage the Delaware crop, were buying Virginia tobacco and selling it to Sweden, rather than producing it. The directors of New Amsterdam hoped that the Swedish reaction to this hoodwinking of royal officials would end the colonial monopoly of the Swedish tobacco market. The directors, in a letter to Peter Stuyvesant, January 27, 1649, agreed to lower the tobacco tax which weighed on the Dutch colony, ostensibly in order to encourage Dutch production of tobacco, or, perhaps, they were merely freeing the Dutch to participate in the Swedish (i. e., Virginia) colonial production of tobacco.

The Swedes had encouraged the tobacco trade among their colonists by requiring their officials on the Delaware to draw their salaries from the tobacco duties, which proved to be, however, inadequate for the purpose. The significance of the tobacco trade for the Swedes is emphasized by the Indians' report to Stuyvesant that they had sold land to the Swedes only for Fort Christina and for a tobacco plot. After the Dutch establishment along the river, at Fort Casimir, in 1651, tobacco was regularly shipped to Holland from the Delaware, as much as twenty tubs in one shipment in 1659. The directors were anticipating in August, 1663, that "this trade of tobacco might be carried on with great advantage," but the British capture of 1664 ended the Dutch "interdicted trade, which, to the diminution of his Majesty's [of England] revenue, this place [Delaware] carried on in . . . Virginia tobacco."

In August, 1672, Captain Thomas Jones, a Maryland merchant who had been commissioned the sole Indian trader within that province, crossed to the Whorekill, now Lewes, Delaware, then claimed by the Maryland proprietor. Accompanied by six or seven men, he arrested and bound the Dutch traders there, opened their strong chests, and seized "several ffurs and other truck"—otter, beaver, mink, wolf, coon, muskrat, deerskins, matchcoats, matchcoat cloth, a pewter pipe, quills, glasses, trading knives, jew's harps, bundles of peake, and blankets. During this same trip, the hot-tempered Captain Jones turned on his guide, Robert Catlin, and called him an "ould Rouge and Dogg" and "Runn his sword thorow his Cloathes to his skynn," confiscated some gunpowder from an unnamed Englishman, and seized some horses of Henry Smith, a justice of Worcester County, Maryland, and Peter Hance, a Dutch trader, on the ground that they had been smuggled into the province. Not content, Jones accused Smith of making a seditious speech and of participating in a mislocation of the town of Whorekill, which had been surveyed by Francis Jenkins on a plot one mile square. Such encroachments by Maryland officers caused Smith and Jenkins to conclude, in counter-petitions to the Maryland court, that these "with many other abuses both dissincourage most people to seate these p[ar]ts

[Whorekill]." These court cases are reported in Vol. LXV of the *Archives of Maryland: Proceedings of the Provincial Court of Maryland, 1670/1-1675 (Court Series, X)*, which is edited by Elizabeth Merritt, and published in 738 pages by the State of Maryland under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society. The editor notes in her introduction that it has been believed that persons accused of crime never had counsel until the eighteenth century, but certain defendants in these cases had lawyers. Surprisingly, court clerks and even the attorney general appeared in their own courts to plead cases.

The lawyers who put the phrases about "the comman law of England" into early state constitutions may have felt that they were preserving what the colonies had always had since the first settlers landed. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., considered the following question: Was the unwritten law administered in the colonial courts the same as the unwritten law in England, in his study, "Colonial Courts and the Common Law," in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1944-1947* (Boston, 1952), Vol. LXVIII, pp. 132-59. From the many theories to define the use of common law for the Colonies—that it was a body of British principles, or was indigenous to America, or that it was English local law, not the common law of the Kings' courts—Chafee concludes that American law in the 17th and 18th centuries developed from generalized common-law principles, English case law, English local law, English legal reforms during the Cromwellian period, homemade law referring to colonial conditions, and continental law.

Law in the colonies, he sees, grew as the law libraries grew, and legal students brought in case law and doctrines from England. Such a developing common law played an increasing part in the administration of justice outside the scope of colonial statutes, tending to displace homemade law and English local law. Contemporaries stated that "nearly as many of Blackstones' 'Commentaries' [sold] in America as in England," and Chafee concludes on the basis of Delaware cases that "eighteenth century Delaware lawyers were evidently investing heavily in books imported from England, either directly or through Philadelphia booksellers."

The colonial enigma of several men with the same name is exemplified in Maryland by the six Hugh Jones, including three Episcopal rectors, two of them who were successive holders of the office in the same parish. A differentiation among the various holders of that name was made by the Reverend Herbert Leswing in his unpublished master's thesis, "Hugh Jones, Colonial Enigma." One of the six Hugh Jones, the mathematician of Bohemia River in Cecil County, and William Rumsey were the recipients of a letter from Benjamin Eastburn, dated September 10, 1733, concerning the meaning of the

phrase "Twelve Mile Circle" in the colonial boundary disputes. Eastburn, the surveyor general of Pennsylvania and Delaware, disagreed with the definition by Jones, who had defined the twelve mile circle as one with a circumference of twelve miles, not a radius of that distance. The Maryland surveyors contended that the twelve-mile circle had a radius of about four miles. Manuscript copies of the interpretation by Jones and the rebuttal by Eastburn are in the library of the Historical Society.

The lure of establishing a refuge for the persecuted Quakers throughout the Delaware Valley, from the Hudson to the Chesapeake, impelled the purchase in 1682 of East New Jersey by twelve proprietors, ten of whom were Friends, including William Penn. Short biographies of these proprietors, soon increased in number to twenty-four, are presented by John E. Pomfret in "The Proprietors of the Province of East New Jersey, 1682-1702," published in the July, 1953, issue of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (Vol. LXXVII, pp. 251-93). Unlike West Jersey, the East Jersey of the proprietors, though initiated by Quakers, failed to produce a single Quaker settlement despite its being for a time part of the "Holy Experiment."

The Institute of Delaware History and Culture is to be congratulated for publishing a series of historical pamphlets to present Delaware history to the youthful readers of the state. The first, *A Brief Account of the Indians of Delaware,* is written by C. A. Weslager and illustrated by John Swientochowski. The Indians—how they lived and died and their relationships with the colonists—are the primary questions raised and answered in short, detailed summaries in a direct style.

The second number of the series, by John A. Munroe, is entitled, *Delaware Becomes A State.* Using as the dramatic point, Rodney's appearance in Philadelphia to cast his vote for independence, Dr. Munroe describes life in the Three Lower Counties in a prelude to a résumé of the political controversies with England, the decision of Congress for independence, and the establishment of the Delaware state. The pamphlet is illustrated by drawings by Albert Kruse, the Matthew Cary map of the state, and a photograph of the state seal of 1777. Both accounts offer further suggestions to widen the picture for the young reader by reading lists and the location of historical exhibits. The authors of the series present in summary form the results of wide scholarship, written in a simple and effective style, in a most pleasing format. Each pamphlet sells for twenty-five cents and may be purchased from the Historical Society or from the University of Delaware Book Store.

The militia of Kent County, Maryland, which included some Dela-

wareans during the Revolution, gave their oaths of allegiance to the new government upon their enlistment. A list of the names of these militiamen, in the collections of the Maryland Historical Society, has been copied and indexed by Mrs. William G. Buckey and the Chapters of Old Kent and London Bridge, DAR, respectively. The sixty-three page pamphlet is entitled, *Kent County, Maryland, and Vicinity: List of Militia and Oaths of Allegiance, June, 1775* (n. p., n. p., n. d.).

The close connection between Maryland and Delaware makes the publication of the *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Maryland,* by the Southern Book Company, of Baltimore, 1952, in 189 pages, of note for both states. The abbreviated and published report of the First Census was not uniform or complete for the various states and territories. While the complete manuscript transcript of the census is available in the Library of Congress, and Congress approved the complete publication in 1907, not until now have sufficient funds permitted publication. The inhabitants of the counties are subdivided into hundreds, and an alphabetical index has been added. While the Constitution requires merely an enumeration of inhabitants, the demand for more specific information is exemplified here: the names of heads of families and descriptive information concerning its members (numbers of free white males, above and under sixteen years of age; white females, age unspecified; all other free persons, and slaves.

This general demand for extensive information about the young republic, which increased with each census, is exemplified in Delaware by a demand of Peter Caverly, July 19, 1824, then secretary of the Board of Health, of Wilmington, for the compilation of public records. He proposed in a broadside, in the library of the Historical Society, that vital statistics should be kept by religious societies, accoucheurs, and doctors, and that the public health officer should publish lists weekly.

The "Springfield Farm of Conococheague," an article by Mary V. Mish in the December, 1952, issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (Vol. XLVII, pp. 314-34) was the residence of Dr. David Ross, the son of the Reverend George Ross, of New Castle, and the brother-in-law of George Read, the Signer. This study is one of a series pertaining to the architecture of great houses in Maryland. Two walls of the central unit are constructed of diagonally placed timbers and a nogging of small, soft bricks, an example of late Gothic English architecture.

Another in this architectural series is a description of "Tulip Hill, Anne Arundel County," by L. Morris Leisenring, in the September, 1952,

issue, pages 188-208. The house, under construction by 1756, was built for the family of Samuel Galloway and his wife Anne Chew, the kinswoman of Samuel Chew, the Chief Justice in 1741 of the Three Lower Counties.

After the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal was dredged to allow seagoing vessels to enter the back door to the Chesapeake Bay, pilotage was extended from the mouth of the canal to Baltimore. Today the canal is responsible for about forty per cent of the pilot's work, points out M. V. Brewington in his study, "The Chesapeake Bay Pilots," in the June, 1953, issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (Vol. XLVIII, pp. 109-33). The bay is one of the two longest tidal pilot's runs in the world, and pilots from Virginia and Maryland competed so keenly before the Civil War that prior to 1852 Baltimore pilots cruised from Cape Henlopen to Hatteras, scouting for inbound craft. The Virginia pilot boat is immortalized in naval architecture by its development into the Baltimore clipper.

The great chemical industry of America, including the chemical combine of E. I. du Pont de Nemours, may well look to Antoine Lavoisier, says Douglas McKie, as their distant founder. His biography, *Antoine Lavoisier, Scientist, Economist, and Social Reformer,* was published in 1952, in 440 pages, by Henry Schuman, of New York. Friends of long standing, Lavoisier and Pierre Samuel du Pont shared interests in economic theories, and the latter's son, Eleuthére Irénée, worked with Lavoisier for some years in the Paris Arsenal. With the coming of the French Revolution, Pierre du Pont hoped to mend his threatened fortune by publishing and, with a loan from Lavoisier, attempted to print the latter's chemical memoirs, but Lavoisier was executed and Du Pont imprisoned. After the rise of Napoleon, Du Pont emigrated with his two sons to America, where the younger, trained by Lavoisier, founded the first gunpowder factory.

The development of the Du Pont economic complex—from the purchase by E. I. du Pont of inferior American powder on a shooting party near Wilmington and his resolution to found a powder mill to the establishment of the present-day seventy-one plants and thirty-eight laboratories is reviewed by Bettina Sargeant in an article, "Du Pont," in the fall, 1952, issue of *American Heritage* (Vol. IV, pp. 45-48).

John W. Bear, the "Buckeye Blacksmith," stumped through Delaware during the sensational "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" presidential campaign in 1840. Among the national speakers during the canvass, this Ohio Whig orator spoke more frequently and was in greatest demand, concludes Robert G. Gunderson in his article, "John W. Bear, 'the Buckeye Blacksmith,'" in the July, 1952, issue of the *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* (Vol. LXI, pp. 62-71).

A brief biography of the Norwegian violinist, Ole Bull, and his plans for a utopia in Pennsylvania are related by Norman B. Wilkinson in his article, "New Norway," pages 12-15 in the winter, 1953, issue of the *American Heritage*. It was during his triumphal tour of this country, including a concert on January 20, 1845, in the Old Town Hall, in Wilmington, that prompted his dream of a new home for Norwegian peasants. His community failed and proved to be a financial catastrophe for the dreamer.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men *and women* are created equal" proclaimed the Declaration of Sentiments of the movement for women's suffrage of the nineteenth century. Frederick B. Tolles, in his *Slavery and "The Woman Question": Lucretia Mott's Diary,* notes that this manifesto had its origin in a whispered conversation in the British Museum between Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, delegates to the Anti-slavery Convention in London in 1840. Mrs. Mott, who though the "Lioness of the Convention" was not permitted to participate, kept a diary of her visit to Great Britain, which has been edited by Dr. Tolles and published in 1952, jointly by the Friends' Historical Association and Friends' Historical Society. Her forthright remarks on American and English acquaintances are frequently tart: "Thomas Bentley—originally from Liverpool—some years resident in Pennsylvania & Delaware—advocate for slavery and many more bad practices—talked his worst to us—with great coolness—contemning religion and morals."

The noted abolitionist, Thomas Garrett, of Wilmington, upon his being fined $5000 in 1848 under the Fugitive Slave Law, suffered the martyrdom of poverty in his old age, but "considered the penalty imposed might be as a license for the remainder of [his] life." Abolitionists in pre-Civil War America attempted to identify their crusade with the early Christians and thus capitalize on the position of martyrs in the American tradition of liberty, points out Hazel C. Wolf in her study, *On Freedom's Altar: The Martyr Complex in the Abolition Movement* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1952; 195 pp., indexed). The antislavery North, while not indifferent to those in bondage, was not favorably disposed toward these abolition martyrs. Even in Wilmington, where Garrett could "have published in one paper at least any thing I wish on the subject of slavery," he was jeered in the courtroom while on trial.

Charles Torrey, who died in a Maryland prison in 1846, under a charge of having helped the escape of slaves, thereby became one of the abolition martyrs of the abolition crusade. During his activities in the Forties to assist Negroes to flee to the North, he worked in Delaware with the underground

railway. An account of his arrest in Baltimore and trial is given by Hazel C. Wolf, in her article, "An Abolition Martyrdom in Maryland," in the September, 1952, issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (Vol. XLVII, pp. 224-33).

War correspondents, the troubadours of the noble deeds of other men, are frequently themselves the heroic spectators, if not participants, in the subjects of their songs. Bernard A. Weisberger points out in his study of Civil War correspondents, *Reporters for the Union,* published by Little, Brown, and Company, of Boston, in 1952, that one reporter for the northern newspapers, George A. Townsend, of Delaware, rose, convalescent, from a sick bed and only recent delirium, to report to his editor on the seven days of fighting in the Peninsular campaign in 1861. Shaky with fever, he rode on transports, steamers, and railroads to New York, and wrote on the way such a voluminous account that it filled five sheets of the *Herald.*

The raid by Lieutenant Colonel Harry Gilmor, Maryland-born Confederate officer, into Maryland in July, 1864, is described in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (Vol. XLVII, pp. 234-72). The Union forces who were sent to defend the railroad bridge on the Gunpowder River and to stop the northern drive of the Confederates included a company of men recruited from the workers at the Du Pont powder mills near Wilmington. "Gilmor's Field Report of his Raid in Baltimore County," is edited by Geoffrey W. Fielding.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which supplied Delaware with such ministers as George Ross, Aeneas Ross, and Philip Reading, continued to maintain them by small stipends from the Society's meager resources. *Into All Lands: the History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1950,* by the Reverend H. P. Thompson, was published in 1952 by the Macmillan Company, in 760 pages. The first portion of the book pertains to the foundation of the Society and its early activities in the thirteen colonies.

Swedenborgians in Delaware were numerous enough to report by 1834 to the General Convention of the New Jerusalem Church, concludes Ophia D. Smith in her article, "The Rise of the New Jerusalem Church in Ohio," in the October, 1952, issue of the *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* (Vol. LXI, pp. 380-409).

The various Griffith families of the lower Delaware Valley, including Timothy Griffith, a pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Pencader Hundred, Delaware, 1743, have been carefully separated by Miss Rosalie Fellows Bailey according to their Presbyterian, Quaker, Baptist, and Episcopal religious

affiliations. Timothy Griffith supplied pulpits in churches in Delaware, Virginia, and Pennsylvania and retired around 1748 to live on his farm in "Appoquinimy" until his death in 1754. Miss Bailey's work, "The Foos Family of Pennsylvania and Ohio, with [an] Appendix on Griffith Families of Eastern Pennsylvania," appeared in the September, 1951, issue of the *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine* (Vol. XVIII, pp. 87-117).

Other Delaware families have been given genealogical study in this same volume of the *Magazine*. In the December, 1950, issue (Vol. XVIII, pp. 3-72), John G. Herndon presents an extensive and detailed genealogy of the "Wiltbanck-Wiltbank of Sussex County, Delaware, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania." It is interesting to note, however, that Abraham Wiltbanck, who is here identified only as a Delaware patriot (and he was one early in the Revolution), later became a Loyalist, and was eventually indicted for treason by the Delaware State for his loyalty to the Crown. "Notes on the Ancestry of Robert Burton (1730-1785), of Sussex County, Delaware, and Some Related Lines: Cotton, Leatherbury, Bagwell, Robinson, Rickards, and Russell," also by Dr. Herndon appear on pages 143-64. The great-grandfather, Robert Burton, was a provincial councillor (1700-04), and his grandfather William, whose lands were located on Indian River, served as a Maryland justice for territory that eventually was judged to belong to Delaware. Other genealogical records in this volume include revised data on the architect, William Strickland, by Lewis D. Cook, under the title, "Strickland of Philadelphia Family Record." Mr. Cook has also transcribed and annotated "Family Records from the Bible of 'Betsy Ross' of Philadelphia," pages 141-42. Elizabeth Griscom (Betsy Ross) married, in order, John Ross, of New Castle; Joseph Ashburn and John Claypoole, both of Philadelphia.

Hugh Judge, a Quaker minister who traveled in Delaware in the late eighteenth century, is one of the colonial figures from whom Richard Dorsey Morgan, of Montchanin, is descended. Other individual progenitors, such as Colonel Charles Simms, the friend of Washington, and Mrs. Mary Brent, the daughter of the chief of the Piscataway Indians and the wife of Giles Brent, of Maryland, adds general interest to the genealogy, *The Ancestry of Richard Dorsey Morgan,* by George Valentine Massey, II, which was privately printed in a limited edition in 1953. Among other families represented, the work includes certain Morgans and Griffiths, of Wales; the Waugh, Lee, Ludwell and Darnall families, of Virginia; and the Dorsey, Johnson, Brent, Sewall, and Carrolls of Maryland. The genealogy is carefully footnoted and contains a name index. Portraits of some of the early forbears of the family add to the pleasing appearance of the book.

Additional genealogical information concerning various branches of the Chandlee family continue to be presented to the Society by their compiler, Mr. Walter Blackson, of Wilmington. This voluminous work is tending toward the scope of the indispensables, the Sharpless and Smedley genealogies, particularly for those families of Friends in the vicinity of East Nottingham. Among the many skills represented by the Chandlees, who are noted for several generations of clockmakers, were manufacturers of surveyors' and engravers' instruments, and machinery for spinning cotton.

Among the reminiscences of W. K. Lewis, recounted in his autobiography, are those anecdotes of his father and grandfather describing life on a farm in southern Delaware in the nineteenth century. The grandfather, a retired ship captain who had sailed schooners between Baltimore and the West Indies at the turn of the century, enthralled his grandson with his own childhood memory of seeing the Redcoats march toward the Brandywine River. His son, H. C. Lewis, saw a similar prelude to military action: as a child on a ferry, he watched soldiers returning from John Brown's raid. The grandson, and author, although born in 1882, remembered that pieces of eight and doubloons circulated as currency in his Delaware childhood. His autobiography was privately printed in 1953, under the title, *A Dollar to a Doughnut,* and published to honor Professor Lewis on his retirement from the faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

In the long retreat of the Indian before the white man, the Conoy and Nanticoke Indians of Delaware and the Eastern Shore served for a time in the eighteenth century as the rear guard defense of the Six Nations in the Susquehanna Valley. As the Nanticokes were invited farther north by the Nations, the "King of the Delawares," Teedyuscung, became the chief guardian of the Wyoming Valley. This series of last retreats is described by Paul A. W. Wallace in his "The Five Nations of New York and Pennsylvania," in the July, 1953, issue of the *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* (Vol. XXXVII, pp. 228-50). While the establishment of the Iroquois confederacy strengthened the Indian tribes involved, it also protected the English colonies against the French in mid-century.

The folk tale that the mesa of Carantouan above the Susquehanna River was a fortification built against the Iroquois by the Susquehanocks under the direction of three soldiers from a Swedish settlement on the Delaware is one of the many incorrect and legendary accounts refuted by Carl Carmer in his seining truth from the fiction which surrounds this glacial drift-mound. His article appears in the summer, 1952, issue of *American Heritage,* pp. 17-19.

INDEX

Aaron, Daniel, 146
Able, Augustus H., III, 217
Abolition; *see* Slavery
Abrahams (Abrams), Anna, 201
Abrahams (Abrams), Mrs. Maria, 184, 286
Abrahams (Abrams), Mrs. William, 184, 286
Abrams; *see* Abrahams
Academies: dancing, 15*n*; Newark, 71; West Nottingham, 217, 220; Wilmington, 139, 147, 209
Academy of Music, Wilmington, Del., 5*n*
Accidents, 194, 198
Acrelius, Israel: church records, 178, 179, 195*n*, 201*n*; history, 85, 92
Act of Union (Pa. and Del.), 100, 112, 117-18, 120, 121, 122, 132, opp. p. 132
Adams, James, 63, 217
Adams, John: in politics, 43, 44, 225; writings, 54*n*
Adams, John Quincy, 225
Addison, Joseph, 5*n*
Agriculture: barns, 87; grain, 135, 145; hay, 145, 194; Kent County, 69; livestock, 113, 165; orchards, 165; poultry, 70; soil, 253; Sussex County, 69; tobacco, 15*n*, 125, 135, 138, 298-99; tools, 83*n*, 87, 91, 198
Ahlmond, John, 203
Ahlmond, Thomas, 203
Alden, John Richard, 297
Alexander, Archibald, 215
Alexander, L. T., 135
Alexander family, 220
Alien and Sedition Acts, 141, 215, 226
Alison, Francis, 71
Allegiance, Oaths of, 301-2
Allen, Jonas, 189
Allen, Robert, 140
Allen (Alin), William (Wiljam), 189
Allen and Wheelock Co., 208
Allmond; *see also* Ahlmond, Almond
Allmond, Charles M., 265, 266*n*
Almanacs, 238, 241
Almond, Will, 201
Alrich, ——— (d. 1754), 199
Alrich, Charles W., 67
Alrich, Mrs. Cornelia D. Jester, 66-67
Alrichs, Jacob, 67, 97*n*
Alrichs, Peter, 67
Alrichs, Wessell, 67
American Bible Society, 243
American Hotel, 36
American Naval and Other Historical Paintings . . . , Bits and Pieces . . ., by I. S. Olds, 210
American party, 261-67; *see also* Know Nothing party
American Philosophical Society, 209
American Revolution: in art, 173-74, 175*n*-176*n*, 206, 209; battles, 167-68, 218, 298, 307; bibliography, 293, 296-97; celebrations, 239; in fiction, 25, opp. 150; Lafayette's headquarters, 157; maps, 218, 297; militia, 297-98; prisoners, 63; Stamp Tax, 141; Washington's headquarters, 158; *see also* Arms and Ammunition
American Watchman (Wilmington, Del.), 5, 64
Amish: in Delaware, 220
Amsterdam, Holland, 72-73
Anders, Johan; *see* Johan Andersson Cock
Anderson, Miss, 27, 29
Anderson, Bart, 148
Anderson (Andersson), Mrs. Brita Paulsson, 196
Anderson (Andersson), Mrs. Elisabeth, 282
Anderson (Andersson), Eric (Erik), 205
Anderson (Andersson), Mrs. Eric (Erik), 196, 278
Anderson (Andersson), James, 282
Anderson (Andersson), Mrs. James, 282
Anderson (Andersson), Jöran, 280, 282, 286

NOTE: For the sake of clarity, the special Swedish letter, *å*, is alphabetized as if it were a variant of the English letter, *a*; moreover, *å* was transcribed at times as *a* by contemporary English writers, e. g., Pålsson, Pals'.

Anderson (Andersson), Måns, 282
Anderson (Andersson), Mrs. Måns, 282
Anderson (Andersson), Mrs. Maria, 282
Anderson (Andersen, Andersson), Peter, 192, 203, 272
Anderson (Andersson), Mrs. Peter, 193
Anderson (Andersson), Mrs. Sara, 282
Anderson, Lorrain, Bolton &, 214
Andrews, Robert, 67-68
Andrews, Samuel, 139
Andries ye Fynnes Creek; *see* Mill Creek, Del.
Andriesen, Andries, 90
Angelakos, Peter, 144
Anglican Church, 97; clergy, 213; property, 280*n*; temperance, 242; *see also* Protestant Episcopal Church; Swedish colony, churches
Anne (Queen of England), 293
Anne Arundel Co., Md., 302-3
Anti-Catholicism, 263
Antislavery; *see* Slavery
Appoquinimink (Apoaquinamy), 213, 275*n*
Appoquinimink Creek, 137
Arbitration (1805), 66
Archaeological Society: of Delaware, 135, 221, 295; Sussex County, 71-72, 211-12
Architects: Samuel Wisdom, opp. 11, 17
Architecture: balconies, 82; bark houses, 80; barn, 87; caves, 79-80, 94; churches, 213; clapboards, 79, 80; Delmarva peninsula, 136; English colonies, 81-82; log buildings, 77-92; Maryland, 68; Philadelphia, 82; Pilottown, 71-72; shingles, 80; thatch, 80; tiles, 80-81; *see also* Bricks; Houses
Architecture, Early American, by H. Morrison, 142
Archives of Maryland, Vol. LXV, ed. by E. Merritt, 299-300
Arden, Del., 146
Armories: Palmetto, 208
Arms and Ammunition, 108, 208
Armstrong, Gen. James, 51
Arsenal, New Castle, Del., 6
Art: choral book, 66-67; *see also* Wilmington Society of Fine Arts
Arthurs, Stanley, 160, 163, 173, 177
Artists: Stanley Arthurs, 160, 163, 173, 177; Clifford Ashley, 155, 157, 172; Arthur E. Becher, 172; cartoonist, 144-45; John Chandlee, 147; colors, 143; F. O. C. Darley, 143-44; George Harding, 167; Gustaf Hesselius, 280, 284, 287, 289, 290; Philip Hoyt, 156; John Mare, 73; Thornton Oakley, 174; Charles Willson Peale, 144, 209; Henry Peck, 155; Herman Pfeifer, 172; Howard Pyle, 151-77, 206, 217-18; Frederic Remington, 162, 173; Frank Schoonover, 160, 163, 164; John Swientochowski, 301; Allen True, 171; Herman Wall, 165; William Williams, 73; Andrew Wyeth, opp. 150, 152, 173, 174; N. C. Wyeth, 151-77, 206
Asbury, Francis, 242
Ashburn, Mrs. Elizabeth; *see* Mrs. Elizabeth Griscom Ashburn Claypoole
Ashburn, Joseph, 306
Ashley, Clifford, 155, 157, 172
"Aspendale," 136
Assembly, Provincial: Delaware, 99, 101-3, 110-11, 114, 117-21, 126-29, 131, 240
Astronomy: Mason-Dixon measurements, 136
Attorney-General, Delaware, 65
Atwood, Albert W., 147
Aurén, Jonas, 277*n*
Aurén, Mrs. Lydia Justis, 277*n*
Aurora (Philadelphia, Pa.), 48, 215

Bache, B. F., 214, 215
Baer, Adelaide E., 66
Baer, George, 59, 60*n*
Baer, John W., 303
Bagwell family, 306
Bailey, Rosalie Fellows, 305-6
Bailey family, 73
Bailor, Richard P., 220
Baker, Mr., 6*n*, 9, 10
Baker, Mrs. Catharine Schneider, 15*n*, 16, 38
Baker, Mrs. Elizabeth Gordon, 15*n*
Baker, Dr. William W., 15, 16, 25, 37, 38
Baker, Mrs. W. W., 38
Baldwin, Abraham, 227
Ball, Donald L., 220
Ballet, 26*n*, 27
Balls, 21
Baltimore, Lord; *see* Calvert
Baltimore, Md., 170-71, 216
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 220
Bancroft family, 206
Baner, Isaac (Isac), 182
Banning, E., 244*n*

Baptist Church, 256, 305-6
Barbour, Violet, 72
Barker, Samuel, 185
Barnes, Charlotte: *see* Mrs. Charlotte Barnes Conner
Barnes, John, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 40
Barnes, Mrs. John, 18-20, 22-23, 40
Barnes, Mrs. Mary Greenhill, 18-20, 22-23, 40
Barns, 87
Barratt's Chapel, 68
Barry, Mr., opp. 11, 19
Bassett, Richard, 51
Baste (Bastu) Creek, Del., 91
Bates, Daniel M., 266*n*
Bates, Col. Daniel Moore, 292
Bath: house, 84, 91; tub, 147
Battles: *see* place-name; name of war
Bayard, Andrew, 50, 56*n*
Bayard, James A. (1767-1815): Blount impeachment, 225, 227, 228, 229, 231, 234, 236; election (1800), 42, 50, 52-58, 66; portrait, 8*n*, opp. 236; writings, 51, 63
Bayard, James A. (1799-1880): lawyer, 266*n*; loyalty oath, 231-35; portrait, opp. 236; writings, 59, 60*n*, 61-62
Bayard, Nicholas, 212
Bayard, Richard H., 21, 59, 60*n*, 61-62
Bayard, Samuel, 56
Bayard, Sign of the, 8-10, 12, 35*n*
Bayard, Thomas F., 298
Bayard family, 212
Bear, John W., 303
Beard, Duncan, 218, 295
Beauchamp, Ann Cook, 24*n*
Beauchamp, Jereboam, 24*n*
Beaven, Mrs., 204
Becher, Arthur E., 172
Bedford, Gunning, Jr.: on Constitution, 214-15; portrait, 209; writings, 63
Beds, 143
Beer, 138
Bennett family, 73
Bentley, Thomas, 304
Benzel (Bonzell), Adolph, 205*n*
Benzel, Mrs. Rebecca; *see* Mrs. Rebecca Tranberg Benzel Killen
Bergen Point, N. J., 147
Bermuda, 71
Bernhardt, Sara, 134
Bertelson, Mrs. Anny, 201
Bickerstaff, Isaac, 20*n*
Bignal, Mr., opp. 11, 19
Biographica Americana, by B. F. French, 66
Biographical Sketches of Loyalists, by L. Sabine, 66
Biörk, Mrs. Christina Stalcop, 273, 274, 277, 279
Biörk, Eric: Old Swedes pastor, 179, 184, 272*n*, 273, 274, 277, 279
Biörk, Petrus, 184
Biörk (Biorck), Tobias, 84
Birch, 164
Birch, Thomas, 210
Bird, Johan, 199
Bird, Mrs. John, 203
Bird, Mrs. Lydia Stilley, 203
Bird, Mrs. Maria Stilley, 203
Bird, Robert Montgomery, 145, 259, 261
Births: deaths, 197, 198, 201-3, 205
Blacksmiths: John W. Baer, 303; William Jones, 218; Thomas Ogle, Jr., 202*n*; Hans Peterson, 191
Blackson, Walter, 147, 307
Blackstone's *Commentaries*, 300
Blackwell, John (governor), 107
Blaike, Mr., 27
Bland, Sophia, 44-45*n*
Bland, Theodorick, 44-45*n*
Blathwayt, William, 97*n*, 111
Block, Hans, 90
Blockhouses: colonial, 79*n*, 81*n*, 84, 85, 86
Bloom, Robert L., 145
Bloomfield, Joseph (governor), 52
Blount, William: impeachment, 54, 225-31, 233-34, 236
Blue Hen's Chicken (Wilmington, Del.), 39
Boats: canoes, 87, 164; dugouts, 87; pilot, 303
Bochten, Del., 186
Bockius, Caroline; *see* Mrs. Caroline Bockius Wyeth
Bodoni, D., 206
Bohemia Inlet, 214
Bohemia Landing, 279*n*
Bohemia Manor Hundred, Md., 67
Bohner, Charles H., 237-69
Bolton & Anderson, Lorrain, 214
Bolton, Theodore, 144
"Bon Homme Richard" (ship), 139

Bonzell; *see* Benzel
Books: Delaware, 66, 69-74, 138-48, 208-21, 251, 296-307; sale, 300; stores, 6
Boone, Daniel, 217
Booth, Miss; *see* Mrs. Charles Burke
Booth, James C., 70
Booth, Junius Brutus, 19*n*, 35
Booth, Mrs. Newlin T., 135
Borden, Morton, 42-62, 225-36
Boston, Mass., 155, 298
Boundaries: Delaware, 98, 119, 301
Bowers, Charles, 30
Boxing, 35-36
Boyce family, 73
Boys of St. Timothy, The, by A. S. Pier, 176
Bradford, E. G., 266*n*
Bradford, Moses, 74
Bradford, Mrs. Phoebe George, 21
Bradford, William, 74, 298
Bradford family, 74
Brandywine: battle of, 25, 167-68, 175*n*-76*n*; early settlers, 277, 278
Brandywine Hundred, 186*n*
Brandywine River: in Am. Revolution, 307; ferries, 157; fords, 213
Brandywine Temperance Society, 241*n*
Brandywine Valley, 166-67
Branning, Annika, 184
Branning, Edward, 184
Brass, 295
Braun, Mrs. Maria, 192, 276, 278, 280, 285, 287, 288, 289
Braun, Mrs. Robert, 278
Bread and Cheese Island, 279*n*
Breckenridge, John, 46, 57*n*
Brent, Giles, 306
Brent, Mrs. Mary, 306
Brent family, 306
Brewington, M. V., 303
Brewton, Francis, 205
Brickmaker's Point (Hook), 80
Bricks: floors, 295; makers, 80, 88; 17th century, 79, 80-84, 86, 88, 92
Bridges: Wilmington, Del., 31, 36
Brief Account of the Indians of Delaware, by C. A. Weslager, 301
Brief Retrospect of the 18th Century, by S. Miller, 294
Briggs, Berta N., 209-10
Briggs, John, 134
Brincklé, Gertrude, 208
Brincklé, John R., 208
Bringhurst, Henry R., 220
Bringhurst family, 220
Brion; *see* Bryan
Bristow, John, 110
Broadsides, 9
Brobson, William P., 19, 294
Broman, Edith, 74
Broom, Elisabeth, 204
Broom, James, 204
Brown, Charles Brockden, 294
Brown, John (of Kansas), 307
Brown, John (of R. I.), 50
Brunberg: *see* Brynberg
Bryan, Alexander, 136
Bryan (Brion), Maria, 198
Brynberg (Brunberg), Christiern (Christian), 185, 190, 191, 198, 280, 283, 285, 287
Brynberg (Brunberg), Mrs. Christiern, 196
Brynberg (Brunberg), Christina, 198
Brynberg, Elisabeth, 185
Brynberg (Brunberg), John, 191
Brynberg (Brunberg), Mrs. Mary Petersson, 196
Brynberg (Brunberg), Mathias, 190
Brynberg, Peter, 139, 241*n*
Bryne, Robert, 214
Buckey, Mrs. William G., 302
Bull, Ole, 304
Burgoyne, John, 133
"Burial Records, 1713-65, Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church," by C. B. and R. L. Springer, 178-205
Burke, Charles, 11*n*, 30
Burke, Mrs. Charles, 6*n*, 11*n*, 12
Burke, Charles St. George, 27*n*
Burke, Mrs. Cornelia; *see* Mrs. Cornelia Frances Thomas Burke Jefferson
Burke, Mrs. Margaret Murcoyne, 11*n*
Burke, Thomas, 27*n*
Burns, Mr., 31
Burr, Aaron: election (1800), 42, 43, 45-56, 61
Burr *v.* Cheetham, 52
Burroughs, Mr., 19*n*
Burton, Robert, 306
Burton, William, 306
Burton, William E. (actor), 20*n*, 25*n*, 40

Burton family (Sussex County), 140
Burton's Theatrical Company, 11*n*
Butler, William, 44
Butterfield, L. H., 141
Buttons, 135

Cabinetmakers: Duncan Beard, 218, 295; Daniel McDowell, 295; James McDowell, 295; Joseph White, 143
Cadbury, Henry J., 70, 213
Calendar of Ridgely Family Letters, ed. by deValinger and Shaw, 69-70
Calvert, Charles (1637-1715, third Lord Baltimore), 102
Calvert, Charles (1699-1751, fifth Lord Baltimore), 93
Camp, flying, 297
Campaign of a Non-Combatant, by G. A. Townsend, 217
Campbell, Mrs. Nan Fooks, 134
Canals, 206; *see also* Chesapeake and Delaware Canal
Canby family, 73
Cannon, Patty, 134
Canoes, 87, 164
Cantwell, Richard, 67
Cantwell's Bridge, 65; *see also* Odessa
Cape Henlopen, 71, 78, 113, 114
Carantouan mesa, 307
Carey, James, 226
Carey, Matthew, 301
Carmer, Carl, 307
Carpenter, Samuel, 108
Carpenters, 78*n*; *see also* Cabinetmakers
Carr, Mr., 17
Carr, John, 212
Carroll, Kenneth L., 147, 219
Carroll family, 306
Carson, Joseph, 213-14
Carter, Clarence E., 219
Carter, Elizabeth, 219
Cartoons: political, 144-45
Catholics; *see* Roman Catholic Church
Catlin, Robert, 299
Caupany, Caupeny, Caupony; *see* Peterson
Causey, Peter F., 263
Caverly, Peter, 302
Caves, 79, 80, 94
Cecil County, Md.: wills, 220
Cedar, 87

Cemeteries: Christina, 184, 191, 277*n*; Crane Hook, 184, 187, 188, 195, 196; private, 185, 202*n*, 274*n*; St. James, 199
Census: Delaware, 65, 258, 302; slaves, 258; Swedish, 276*n*; Wicaco (1697-98), 279*n*, 286*n*
Central Building, Wilmington, Del., 39*n*
Ceramics: Delaware valley, 71-72
Chadds Ford, Pa., 155, 157, 164, 165, 166, 176
Chads, John, 157
Chafee, Zechariah, Jr., 300
Chairs, 143
Champlain, Lake: battle of, 210, 218
Chandlee, Benjamin, 146-47
Chandlee, John, 147
Chandlee, Thomas, 147
Chandlee family, 146, 307
Chandler, J. P., 240, 241*n*
Chandler, William, 25
Chapin, J. H., 164-65
Charity: methods, 255
Charleston, S. C., 206
Charters: colonial, 122, 124, 126, 127, 130, 132
Chemicals: exhibitions, 36
Cherry, Andrew, 18
Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, 72, 207, 303
Chesapeake Bay, 303
Chester County Historical Society, 73, 148
Chestnut, 157
Chests, 143
Chew, Anne; *see* Mrs. Anne Chew Galloway
Chew, Samuel, 303
Chichester; *see* Marcus Hook
China, 135
Chipp, Matthew, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
Chipp, Mrs. Matthew, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
Chipp Theatrical Company, 10, 11*n*, 34*n*
Chisholm, Mr. (S. C.), 44
Chivers, T. H., 24
Choptank River, 93, 94
Christ Church (Dover, Del.), 213
Christ Church (near Laurel, Del.), 213
Christiana (Christiana Bridge), Del., 145, 279*n*
Christie, Gabriel, 49, 50*n*, 52*n*
Christie, John Watson, 292
Christina; *see* Fort Christina; Wilmington

Christina River: bridges, 31; description, 213; drownings, 198; ferries, 274

Christmas: celebrations, 172-73

Churches: Anglican, 97, 213, 242, 280*n*; Baptist, 256, 305-6; Dutch Reformed, 97; Fort Christina, 83; Friends, 4, 12, 20-21, 40, 73, 97, 98, 107-12, 212-13, 219, 241-42, 278*n*, 301, 305-6; Labadists, 97; log, 86; Lutheran, 83, 84, 89*n*, 97, 178-205, 213, 270-91; Mennonites, 97, 209; Methodists, 68, 147, 237, 242, 243; Nicholites, 147; Presbyterian, 71, 215, 220-21, 242, 256, 305; Protestant Episcopal, 89*n*, 199, 203, 211-13, 280*n*, 293, 305; records, 178-205, 270-91; relations with state, 12, 256-57; Roman Catholic, 107; Swedish, 83, 84, 89*n*, 97, 178-205, 213, 270-91; *see also* Clergy; Clergymen; names of Churches, towns

Churches and Colonial Clergy of the Middle . . . Colonies, The Colonial, by F. L. Weis, 142

Circus, 7, 8*n*, 13, 14

Civil War: battles, 67-68; Confederates, 231, 305; Delaware troops, 67-68; loyalty oath, 225*n*, 231-35; reporters, 217, 305; sanitary fairs, 67

Claeson, Cläesson; *see* Clawson

Clapboards, 79, 84, 88, 92, 94, 135

Clark, Benjamin S., 144

Clark, William, 104

Clark family, 73

Clarke, Mr. (actor), 33

Classon; *see* Clawson

Clawson (Classon), Mrs. Dorothea, 182

Clawson (Classon), Elizabeth, 196

Clawson (Classon), Jesper, 196

Clawson (Classon), Jesper, Jr., 193

Clawson (Claeson), Mary, 204

Clawson (Cläesson), Peter (d. 1733), 182, 191, 281, 283

Clawson (Claesson), Peter (d. 1756), 201

Clawson (Classon), Mrs. Peter, 182, 202, 283

Clawson (Claeson), Mrs. Walborg, 202, 283

Clay, Henry, 258

Clayland family, 73

Claymont, Del., 221

Claypoole, Mrs. Elizabeth Griscom Ross Ashburn (Betsy Ross), 306

Claypoole, James, 278*n*

Claypoole, John, 306

Claypoole, Mrs. Mary; *see* Mrs. Mary Claypoole Steelman

Clayton, Mrs. Ella, 182

Clayton, John M.: in politics, 61, 257-59, 263, 266; writings, 145, 266*n*

Clayton (Cleton), Mrs. Joseph, 182

Clayton, Thomas, 18-19, 63

Clayton family, 73, 145

Cleaver, Joseph, Jr., 70

Clement family, 272*n*

Clements, Miss (dancer), 19

Clementson (Clemmetssen), Mrs. Brita, 272, 278

Clementson, Jacob, 272

Cleneay (Cleany), Mrs. Maria (Mary) Springer, 289, 290

Cleneay (Cleany), William, 289, 290

Clergy, Colonial, of Md., Del., and Ga., by F. L. Weis, 142

Clergymen, Colonial: Israel Acrelius, 178, 179, 195*n*, 201*n*; Francis Asbury, 242; Jonas Aurén, 277*n*; Eric Biörk, 179, 184, 272*n*, 273, 274, 277, 279; Thomas Coke, 242; Freeborn Garrettson, 147, 243; Andreas Hesselius, 184, 185, 272*n*, 274, 277, 280, 281, 283-84, 288; Thomas Jenkins, 213; Abraham Lidenius, 182, 272*n*, 274, 275, 279*n*, 280, 281, 283, 284; Eric Nordenlind, 202; Olove Parlin, 205*n*; Philip Reading, 293, 305; Aeneas Ross, 63, 305; George Ross, 63, 302, 305; Andreas Rudman, 205*n*, 273*n*; Andreas Sandel, 273*n*, 275*n*, 277*n*, 279*n*, 288; John Talbot, 213; Peter Tranberg, 195, 205*n*

Clerk, Capt. (1674-1754), 200

Clinton, George, 45

Clocks and clockmakers: 143; Duncan Beard, 218, 295; Benjamin Chandlee, 146-47; John Chandlee, 147; George Jones, 64, 144; W. Tomlinson, 208; *see also* Chandlee family; Watchmakers

Clothing: colonial, 138

Clymer, Charles Fountain, 296

Clymer, Mrs. Nancy Needles, 296

Clymer family, 295-96

Coach, post, 145

Cobb's Creek, Pa.: mills, 85-86, 90-91

Cock (Cocks, Cox, Kock), Andrew (Anders, Andrishi), 188-90, 195, 277, 282, 289

Cock, Mrs. Andrew (Andrishi), 190, 277, 282, 289

Cock, Brita, 188, 189

Cock, Mrs. Brita, 282

Cock, Catharina, 188, 189
Cock (Kock), Mrs. Catharine, 278
Cock, Ester, 197
Cock, Johan, 182, 274
Cock, Mrs. Johan, 282
Cock, Johan Anderson (Andersson), 182
Cock, Mrs. Johan Anderson, 182, 278
Cock, (Cocks), John, 196
Cock, Mrs. Katharina, 182, 278
Cock, Magnus, 183
Cock, Peter, 183
Cock, Reigner Van der Culen, 189
Cock, Mrs. Sara, 190, 277, 282, 289
Cock, William (Wiljam), 189
Cody, W. F., 134
Coffee, 147, 214
Coins, 135; *see also* Currency
Coke, Thomas, 242
Coleman, J. Winston, Jr., 217
Colesberry (Colsberg), Mrs. Elisabeth, 279
Colesberry, Henry, 202
Colesberry (Colsberg), Mrs. Sven, 279
Collin, Nicholas, 276*n*
Colman, George, 8, 31
Colonies: *see* Delaware; Dutch; Pennsylvania; Royal; Swedes
Colorado, 147, 207
Colsberg; *see* Colesberry
Colt, Samuel, 208
Comegys, Cornelius P., 245*n*
Comegys, Joseph P., 257*n*, 266*n*
Cometti, Elizabeth, 70
Comfort, William Wistar, 73
Commerce: (1664-84), 85, 102; embargo, 216; grain, 71, 135, 138; jurisdiction, 63, 214; lumber, 84, 85, 91, 135; tobacco, 125, 135; war, 63, 213-14; *see also* Council of Trade and Plantations
Committees of Safety, 63
"Communicant Records, Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church," by C. B. and R. L. Springer, 270-91
Concord, Mass., 173-74
Confederacy, Southern, 231, 305
"Conflict between the Three Lower Counties . . . and . . . Pennsylvania," by R. Johannsen, 96-132
Connecticut, 220
Conner, Edmon S., 24, 28, 29, 30, 34, 40
Conner, Mrs. Charlotte Mary Sanford Barnes, 21-24, 28*n*, 40
Conner, William H., 3-41, 68
Conococheague, Md., 302
Conoy Indians, 307
Constantine (Constantin), Augustin, 286, 289, 291
Constantine (Constantin), Mrs. Christian (Kerstin) Parker, 185, 274, 278, 279, 281, 282, 283, 285, 286, 289, 291
Constantine (Constantin), Conrad (Conratt), 190, 274, 278, 279, 281, 282, 283, 285, 286, 287, 289, 291
Constantine (Constantin), Mrs. Conrad, 185, 274, 278, 279, 281-3, 285, 286, 289, 291
Constantine (Constantin), Constantin, 282
Constantine, Kerstin; *see* Mrs. Christian (Kerstin) Parker Constantine
Constantine (Constantin), Maria, 278, 281, 282
Constitutions:
  Delaware: (1776), 63; (1831), 66; (1853), 66; (1897), 210, 211;
  Federal: amendments, 43*n*; civil officers, 225-36; representation, 214-15
Continental Army: food, 70-71; flying camp, 297; troops, 71, 297-98; *see also* American Revolution; Militia
Continental Congress, 70, 142-43
Cooch, Mrs. Sarah Griffith, 208
Cooch, Thomas, 208
Cooch, Thomas, Jr., 208
Cook, Lewis D., 306
Cooper, Mr. (actor), 19*n*
Cooper, Isaac M., 144
Cope, Oliver, 276*n*
Cope, Thomas D., 294
Copeland, Mrs. Lammot duPont, 134
Coram, Robert, 139
Corbit house, 136
Corn, 71, 145
Cornelius (Corneliesen), Charles (Carl), 191, 192
Cornelius, Charles, Jr., 192
Cornelius, Cornelius, 182
Cornelius, Stephen (Staphan), 182, 281, 287, 289
Cornelius, Mrs. Williaminke (Wilhelmina) Hendrickson, 281, 287, 289
Cotton, 307
Cotton family, 306
Council, Provincial, 103-6, 115
Council of Trade and Plantations, British, 123, 124

Courts: colonial, 86, 103-5, 191*n*, 193*n*, 303; Common Pleas, 278*n*; federal, 233*n*; state, 15*n*, 19*n*, 211, 278*n*, 265-66; Superior, 265-66; *see also* Law
Coutts, James, 129, 130
Cowboys, 161-62
Cowell, Joseph, 5
Cowell Dramatic Corps, 5, 6, 7, 11*n*
Cowley, Hannah, 23
Cows, 165
Cox; *see* Cock
Craig [Gregg?], Jacob, 205
Craig (Craik), William, 56
Craik; *see* Craig
Crane, Mr., opp. 11, 19
Crane Hook: cemetery, 182, 195, 196; church, 86, 187, 188; houses, 91; settlers, 278, 282, 284, 285, 287, 288
Cresson, H. T., 221
Crime: colonial, 220; costs, 265; informers, 7*n*
Crisis in Freedom, by J. C. Miller, 141
Cromwell, Oliver, 209
Cross Keys Tavern, 3*n*
Crouta, Mr. (actor), 29, 31
Crowden, Joseph, 126, 128*n*
Crum Creek, 279*n*
Cuff, Jim, 29*n*
Culen; *see* Von Culin
Currency: bit, 19*n*; colonial, 70, 135; paper, 138; Spanish, 307; *see also* Rents, in kind
Currin, William, 89
Curtis, John, 103
Customs: duties, 214
Cuvilier (Cuvillier), Mr., 11*n*, 34
Cuvilier (Cuvillier), Mrs.; *see* Mrs. Charles Burke

Dallas, Alexander J., 44*n*, 57*n*, 228, 229, 233
Dallas, John, 57*n*
Danby, J. Kenneth, 133, 295
Dancing: academies, 15*n*; ballet, 26*n*, 27; hornpipe, 7, 24*n*, 30, 34; jig, 34; teachers, 11*n*; in theatre, 19, 22, 23, 24*n*, 29, 30, 34
Danckaerts (Dankers), Jasper (Jaspar), 84, 88, 97
Darley, Felix O. C., 143-44, 206
Darnall family, 306
Daughters of Temperance, 248
Davidson, Marshall B., 72
Davis, James, 183
Davis, Mary, 286, 287, 289
Davis, Samuel Boyer, 64
Dawson, John, 57*n*, 227
Death, causes of: accidents, 194, 198; age, 200, 202, 203, 204, 205; apoplexy, 197, 199, 204; burns, 205; childbirth, 197, 198, 201, 202, 203, 205; cholic, 205; drunkenness, 199; fistula, 204; hernia, 200; hiccups, 201; inflammation, 205; worms, 201, 204; *see also* Diseases
Decatur, Stephen, 207
Defense, colonial, 112, 114
De Fosse; *see* De Vos
De Haes, Johannes, 107, 108
DeHaven, Jacob, 8*n*
DeHaven's Hotel (Wilmington, Del.), 8
de Kalb; *see* Kalb, Johan de
Delaware: awards, 64; boundaries, 300-1; colonial government, 70, 101-6, 114, 115, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 131; Committee of Safety, 63; currency, 19*n*, 70, 138, 307; description (1705), 130*n*, (1795), 138-39; geology, 70; history, 210-11; maps, 137-38; population (1682), 97, (1790-1830), 69; publications, 69-74, 140-48, 208-21, 296-306; relations with Md., 93-95; relations with Me., 299-300; relations with N. J., 133; relations with Pa., 96-132; seal, 301; sheriff, 99; taxes, 102, 131; World War II, 3*n*, 68; *see also* Agriculture; Assembly, provincial; Churches; Constitutions, Delaware; Council, provincial; Courts; Elections; House of Representatives; Militia; Petitions
Delaware, A Guide to the First State, 298
Delaware, legislature of; *see* Assembly, provincial; Council, provincial; House of Representatives
Delaware and Eastern Shore Advertiser (Wilmington, Del.), 141
Delaware Archives: in Library of Congress, 74; *see also* Delaware State Archives
Delaware Bar Association, 66
Delaware Becomes a State, by J. A. Munroe, 301
Delaware Citizen, The, by C. Liberman and J. M. Rosbrow, 210-11
Delaware College, 70; *see also* Academies, Newark; University of Delaware
Delaware Continentals, by C. L. Ward, 296-97

Delaware Folklore Bulletin, 74
Delaware Folklore Society, 140
Delaware Gazette (Wilmington, Del.), opp. 11, 12, 13, 17*n*, 21, 68, 74, 139, 249*n*, 259, 261
Delaware Herald (Smyrna, Del.), 249*n*
Delaware History, 69, 140
Delaware House (Wilmington, Del.), 8*n*
Delaware Indians, 275*n*, 307
Delaware Journal; see Delaware State Journal
Delaware Medical Society, 15*n*
Delaware Register (Wilmington, Del.), 250*n*
Delaware River, 147; breakwater, 72; Dutch, 72; piracy, 111; Revolutionary activity, 210; shipping, 164; Swedes, 77-92
Delaware State Archives: library, 140, 191*n*, 227*n*, 243*n*, 244*n*, 245*n*, 248*n*, 252*n*, 256*n*, 266*n*, 278*n*; *see also* Delaware State Museum; John Dickinson Mansion
Delaware State Journal (Wilmington, Del.), 14, 17*n*, 259, 261, 264
Delaware State Museum: exhibits, 74, 135, 136, 295; *see also* John Dickinson Mansion
Delaware State Temperance Society, 248*n*, 252, 259
Delaware Swedish Colonial Society, 295
Delaware Temperance Herald (Wilmington, Del.), 249*n*
Delaware Valley: archaeology, 71-72; architecture, 77-95, 135
Delmarva Peninsula, 69, 136
Democratic party: during Civil War, 231; temperance, 257, 266, 267; *see also* Locofocos
Democratic-Republican party: embargo, 216; press, 66, 139, 215
Dennis, John, 56
Dent, George, 49, 50*n*
Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad, 147
Depressions: panic of 1837, 41
DeRapelje family, 73
Derickson (Dirixon), Jacobus, 190
Derry (Dery), Mrs. Henry, 200
Designs: watch papers, 144
deValinger, Leon, Jr., 68, 69-70, 135, 181
De Vos (de Fosse), Johannes, 185
De Vos (de Fosse), Johannes, Jr., 185
DeVries, David Peter, 78, 85, 211
Diaries: Anna Ferris, 245*n*, 255*n*, 266*n*; S. G. Fisher, 216; George Fox, 213; Andreas Hesselius, 274*n*; Lucretia Mott, 304; Andreas Sandel, 273*n*
Dickerson, Oliver M., 141, 214
Dickinson, John: biography, 66, 146, 294; house, opp. 133, 134-36, 146, 295; in politics, 215-16; portraits, 209; writings, 63, 141, 142, 214, 215
Dickinson, Samuel, 134, 135
Dickinson Law Review, 211
Diseases: and alcohol, 240-41; cancer, 202; consumption, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205; distemper, 130*n*; dropsy, 203; dysentery, 193, 195, 198, 201; epilepsy, 199; fevers, 198, 200, 201, 203, 213, 240*n*; flux, 204, 205; head, 199; inflammation, 199; jaundice, 202; pleurisy, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202; rabies, 197; sciatica, 200; smallpox, 193, 194, 197, 198, 201, 203, 204; *see also* Death, causes of; Drugs
Dixon, Jeremiah, 136-37, 293-94
Dogs: rabid, 197
Dolan, Paul, 211
Dollar to a Doughnut, by W. K. Lewis, 307
Dorsey family, 306
Doubloons, 307
Douglass, David, 5*n*
Dover, Del.: capitol, 64, 264-65; churches, 213; description (18th c.), 254; houses, 294-95; population, 65; State Museum, 74, 135, 136, 295
Dow, Neal, 248, 260
Downs, Donald, 136
Downs, Joseph, 143
Drama: *Alexander the Great*, 12; *Ali Pacha*, 12; *Ambrose Gwinet*, 28; *Animal Magnetism*, 8; *Arabian Night*, 134; *Barbarossa*, 11; *Bath Road*, 32; *Battle of the Brandywine*, 25; *Belle's Stratagem*, 23; *Bertram*, 10, 11; *Black Eyed Susan*, 34; *Botheration*, 34; *Brigand*, 30; *Broken Sword*, 12; *Camille*, 134; *Castle Spectre*, 22; *Cato*, 5*n*; *Charles II*, 23; *Conrad and Eudora*, 24*n*; *County Chairman*, 173; *Damon and Pythias*, 9; *Douglas*, 23, 30; *Drunkard*, 250; *Drunkard's Fate*, 11; *Family Jars*, 19; farces, 7, 8, 9, opp. 10, 10, 11, 20, 33, 34; *Fatal Marriage*, opp. 3; *Fazio*, 29, 32; *Floating Beacon*, 10; *Forest of Rosenwald*, 27; *Forty Thieves*, 28; *Gamester*, 30; *Golden Farmer*, opp. 11, 31; *Gretna Green*, 34;

Hamlet, 24; *Hide & Seek*, 7*n*; *Honeymoon*, 3*n*, 5, 7*n*, 22; *Hortensia*, 11; *Hunchback*, 23; *Hypocrite*, 20; *Innkeeper of Abbeville*, 12; *Irishman and Yorkshireman*, 7*n*; *Iron Chest*, 8; *Isabella*, 20; *Jane Shore*, 30*n*; *Jim Crow*, 9, 12; *John Bull*, 31; *John Jones*, 25; *Julius Caesar*, 11-12; *Lady and Devil*, 9; *Lady of Lyons*, 39; *Lady of the Lake*, 27; *Love Alone Can Fix Him*, 25; *Love in Humble Life*, 8; *Macbeth*, 3*n*, 7, 12; *Magpie and Maid*, 11, 30; *Matrimony*, 9; *Merchant of Venice*, 10; *Midnight Hour*, 27; *Military Execution*, 34; *Murder at the Roadside Inn*, 39*n*; *Nature and Philosophy*, 34; *Octavia Bragaldi*, 24; *Old and Young*, 29; *Othello*, 10; *Paradise Lost*, 134; *Perfection, or Maid of Munster*, 11, 26; *Personation*, 32; *Pizarro*, 22, 33; *Poor Soldier*, 29*n*; *Raising the Wind*, 20*n*, 25; *Rendezvous*, 7*n*; *Review*, 25; *Richard III*, 10, 33; *Rivals*, 134; *Robber's Wife*, 28, 29*n*; *Romeo and Juliet*, 12, 22, 23; scenery, 27; *School for Scandal*, 22-23; *She Stoops to Conquer*, 34; *Snowstorm*, opp. 11, 30; *Soldier's Daughter*, opp. 11, 18, 31; *Spoiled Child*, 24*n*, 27; *Sprigs of Laurel*, 20; *Stranger*, 3, 5*n*, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 20, 33; *Sweethearts and Wives*, 20; *Therese*, opp. 11, 30; *Tom and Jerry*, 25; *Turn Out*, 33; *Valentine & Orson*, opp. 11, 31; *Venice Preserved*, 20; *Victorine*, 11; *Virginius*, 23; *Wandering Boys*, 27; *Wife, The; or Tale of Mantua*, 22, 23*n*; *William Tell*, 23*n*, 33; *Young Widow*, 9

Drew, John, 134

Drugs, 143

Duane, William, 66, 214

Duck Creek: landings, 74; merchants, 214

Duckett, Thomas, 110

Duff, John, 28*n*

Duff, Mary, opp. 11, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35*n*, 40

Duff, Mrs. Mary Ann Dyke, 28, 29*n*

Dulaney Valley, 69

Dunken, Mrs. Brita (d. 1722), 186, 280, 283, 284, 285, 287, 288, 289, 290

Dunlap, A. R., 89*n*, 217

Dunn, James T., 216

duPont, Eleuthère Irénée, 303

duPont, Henry F., 134

duPont, Pierre Samuel, 303

duPont, S. Hallock, 294

DuPont powder mills, 303, 305

Durang, Charles, 18, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 35

Durang, Mrs. Charles, 28, 29

Durang, John, 26*n*

Dutch, on Delaware River: army barracks, 80; colonists, 78*n*, 97, 123, 200; commerce, 72-73, 78*n*, 298-99; government, 67; history, 211-12; relations with Pa., 98, 100; relations with Swedes, 212; *see also* Dutch West India Company, Fort Nassau, New Amstel, New Castle, Whorekill

Dutch Reformed Church, 97

Dutch West India Company, 72

Early English Churches in America, by S. P. Dorsey, 213

Eastburn, Benjamin, 301

East Jersey, 125*n*, 301

East Nottingham, Md., 307

Eccleston, John, 59

Eckman, Jeannette, 89*n*, 193*n*, 211, 298

Edgeworth, Miss, 33

Education: aid, 139; teacher, 221; universal, 139

E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co., 147, 303, 305

"Election of 1800: Charge and Countercharge, The," by Morton Borden, 42-62

Elections: (1682), 99; (1683), 101; (1703), 128; (1796), 45; (1800), 42-62; (1822), 254; (1840), 216, 255, 303; (1852), 259-60; (1854), 260-65; bribery, 259; British, 143; foreign vote, 261-63

Elephant, exhibit of, 8*n*

Elk River, 67; settlers, 284, 288, 289

Elliott, George, 144

Ellis, Hanna, 288, 289, 290

Ellis, Richard, 67

Elocution, 14

Elrod, Johan Didrich, 278, 283, 284

Elrod, Mrs. Johan Didrich, 286

Elrod, Mrs. Maria Magdalena, 278, 283, 284, 286

Embargo: (1779), 70-71; (1807), 216

Embreeville, Pa., 136

Embroidery, 133, 134

Empson, Ebenezer (Aben Ezer, Ebeneser), 186, 188, 189

Empson, Jonathan, 188, 189

Empson, Rebecca, 186

Empson, Mrs. Susanna, 189

Empson (Emson), William, 202

English, on Delaware River: architecture, 78, 81-82, 88, 89-90, 92; commerce, 63,

84, 85, 91-92, 298-99, 307; population, 97; relations with Indians, 307; relations with Swedes, 84, 85, 91-92
Enos, Joseph, 184
Enos, Richard, 184
Erickson, Annika; *see* Mrs. Annika Erickson Stalcop Gooding
Erickson (Eriksson), Mrs. Anna (Annika), 272, 278, 284
Erickson (Eriksson), Eric, Jr., 278, 282, 284, 285, 287, 288
Erickson (Ericsson, Eriksson, Ersson), Eric (Erik), Sr., 184, 272, 278, 282, 284
Erickson (Eric's, Ericsson), Mrs. Eric, Sr., 285, 287, 288
Erickson, John, 285
Erickson, Mrs. Magdalena, 285
Erickson family, 271
Ericsson; *see* Erickson
Ersson; *see* Erickson
Erving, George W., 54
Estaing, Charles, Comte de, 210
Evans, Charles, 214
Evans, John, 128-29, 131
Evans, Oliver: mill machinery, 72
Evans, Mrs. Oliver, 73
Exhibitions: elephant, 8*n*; scientific, 36; Siamese twins, 8*n*, 36; wax figures, 8*n*, 14*n*
Exports; *see* Commerce

Fabrics, 195, 214
Fahlun, Swe., 196, 199
Fair Oaks, Va., 67-68
"Fama" (Swe. ship), 84, 91
Farces; *see* Drama
Farell, Elisabeth, 201
Federalist party: Blount impeachment, 227, 230; in Delaware, 69-70, 238, 257; elections, 42-62, 254; factions, 44, 53
Federalists, The, by L. D. White, 141
Feminism, 247
Fences: rail, 157; hedge, 145
Fencing, 11
Fenwick, John, 81
Ferries: Brandywine, 157; Christina River, 274
Ferris, Anna M., 208, 245*n*, 255*n*, 266*n*
Ferris, Benjamin: maps, 140; writings, 208, 283*n*
Ferris family, 208
Fielding, Mr. (actor), 19, 20, 23, 25
Fielding, Geoffrey W., 305
Filson, John, 217
Finances: colonial, 112
Finley, Samuel, 220
Finns, on Delaware: architecture, 78, 82*n*, 87; language, 217; Philadelphia, 82; population, 97; relations with English, 100
Fire: Baltimore, 170-71; eaters of, 31-32
Fisher, Mrs. Elizabeth, 187, 188
Fisher, Mrs. George, 187, 188
Fisher, George P., 266*n*
Fisher, Sidney George, 216
Fisher family, 142
Flags: political, 37
Flaxseed, 138
Fletcher, Benjamin, 109-12, 116
Flour mills; *see* Mills
Flynn, Mr. (actor), 11, opp. 11, 12, 17, 20
Folklore: Sussex County, 140; *see also* Delaware Folklore Society
Folklore Bulletin, Delaware, 74, 221
Follows, John, 198
Folsom, William R., 218
Foot, Mr. (actor), opp. 11, 19
Foos family, 306
Forat, John, 107
Ford, Samuel, 249*n*
Forman, Henry Chandlee, 136
Forrest, Edwin, 18*n*, 24
Fort Altena (Wilmington, Del.), 80; *see also* Fort Christina
Fort Beversreede, 79
Fort Casimir: population (1653), 79; tobacco, 299; *see also* Fort Trinity; New Castle
Fort Christina (Wilmington, Del.): buildings, 83, 90, 91; surrender, 212; tobacco, 299; *see also* Fort Altena
Fort Duquesne, 297
Fort Elfsborg (Elfsborgh), 84-85
Fort Korsholm (on Schuylkill River), 79*n*, 85; *see also* Fort New Korsholm
Fort Nassau, 78
Fort New Gothenburg, 84
Fort New Korsholm, 81*n*
Fort Oplandt (Lewes, Del.), 79
Fort Orange, N. Y., 80
Fort Sumter, 231
Fort Trinity, 86; *see also* Fort Casimir
Fort Vasa, 85

Forte, Thomas, 138
Forts: construction, 86; description, 78, 79; Dutch, 211-12; English, 85; *see also* name of fort
Foster, Augustus J., 145-46
Foster, Stephen Collins, 73
Foudrey (Fuddri), Samuel, 193
Foul Anchor Tavern, 239
Fourth of July: celebrations, 167
Fox, George, 212-13
Frames of Government, Pa., 115*n*, 116, 117
France: aid to U. S., 210; emigrants, 123, 141; language, 139; navy, 112-13; privateers, 115; relations with Pa., 112; wars, 107, 108, 214
Franklin, Benjamin, 215
Franklin family, 215
Frear, Mrs. J. Allen, 134
Frederica, Del., 65
Frederick II (the Great, king of Prussia), 67
Free Society of Traders, 82
Free Soil: faction, 266
Freeman, Douglass S., 297-98
French, Benjamin F., 66
French and Indian War: Del. troops, 297
French Revolution: in art, 214
French Street, Wilmington, Del., 139-40
Freneau, Peter, 45
Friends; *see* Society of Friends
Friends of the John Dickinson Mansion, 135
"Frolic" (Brit. brig), 207
Fry, Joshua, 137
Fugitive Slave Law, 304
Fulton, Robert, 207
Fur trade: Dutch, 299-300
Furniture, 63, 143, 295; *see also* Cabinetmakers; Clocks
Furniture, American . . . by J. Downs, 143

Gallatin, Albert, 60, 63
Galloway, Mrs. Anne Chew, 303
Galloway, Samuel, 303
Games, 164, 165
Gandouett (Gendowe), Alexander, 198
Garden Behind the Moon, The, by H. Pyle, 154
Garretson; *see also* Garrettson
Garretson (Garritzon), —— (d. 1726), 187
Garretson (Gaurretson), —— (d. 1757), 201
Garretson (Garritzon), Anna, 190
Garretson, Anna; *see* Mrs. Anna Garretson Justis
Garretson (Garritzon), Catharina, 187
Garretson (Gaurretson), Christina, 201
Garretson (Garritsen), Mrs. Elisabet (d. 1734), 192
Garretson, Mrs. Elizabeth; *see* Mrs. Elizabeth Garritsson Vining
Garretson (Garritsson, Garritzon), Garrit (1691-1755), 187, 188, 200
Garretson (Garritsen), Mrs. Garrit, 192
Garretson (Gerritsen) van Wageningen, Gerrit, 147
Garretson (Garrisson), Hendrich (Henry), Jr. (d. 1722), 185, 186, 286, 287, 289, 290
Garretson (Garrisson), Mrs. Hendrich, Jr., 286, 287, 289, 290
Garretson (Garrisson), Hindrich, Sr. (d. 1721), 185
Garretson (Garrisson), Hindrich, III (1715-22), 186
Garretson (Garrison), Johan (d. 1722), 186, 190
Garretson van der Hoff, John, 147
Garretson (Garrisson), Mrs. Kerstin, 286, 287, 289, 290
Garretson (Garritsen), Maria, 192
Garretson, Paul (Powell), 147
Garretson (Gerritsen) family, 147
Garrett, Thomas, 304
Garrettson, Freeborn, 147, 243
Garrick, David, 30*n*
Garrisson, Garritzon; *see* Garretson
Gaul, Harvey B., 73
Gayley, S. A., 256*n*
Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, 278*n*
"General Washington" (Del. ship), 138
Gennet (Jennet), John, 204
Gennet, Michael, Jr., 196
Gennet, Michael, Sr., 196, 203
Geological Survey, Delaware, 70
George, Henry, 146
German: architecture, 78; colonists, 97, 196, 219; voters, 261
Gerritsen; *see* Garretson
Gerry, Elbridge, 43*n*
Ghent, Belg., 231

Giastasohn; *see* Justis
Gilchrist, Agnes A., 72
Gillespie, James, 52, 58*n*, 59*n*
Gillespie *v.* Smith, 52, 58-59
Gilmor, Harry, 305
Gilpin, Edward W., 15
Gilpin, Henry Dilworth, 207
Gilpin, Joshua: paper mill, 206, 207, 210
Gilpin, Thomas: paper mill, 146, 210
Gilpin, William, 207
Gilpin family, 207, 210
Giöding; *see* Gooding
Girelius, Laurence, 179
Glass: ware, 135; window, 84
Gleis, Paul G., 219
Gloria Dei Church (Philadelphia, Pa.), 86, 205*n*, 276*n*
Glorious Revolution (1688), 122, 212
Gold, 4
Gooding (Giöding), Mrs. Annika Erickson Stalcop, 187, 273, 278, 281, 283, 285, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291
Gooding (Giöding), Johan, 185, 273, 278, 281, 283, 285, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291
Gooding (Giöding), Mrs. Johan, 187, 273, 278, 281, 283, 285, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291
Gordon, Elizabeth; *see* Mrs. Elizabeth Gordon Baker
Gough, John, 244, 245
Gouvion, Jean Baptiste, 218
Graham, Benjamin, 202
Grains, 71, 135, 138, 145
Grand Opera House, Wilmington, Del., 5*n*, 7*n*
Gray, Thomas, 138
Gray, Welcome, 38
Gregg; *see* Craig
Greenbank, Mr. (actor), 14
Greene, Mr. (actor), 5
Greene, Mrs. (actress), 5
Grierson, Mr. (actor), 5
Griffith, Sarah; *see* Mrs. Sarah Griffith Cooch
Griffith, Timothy, 305-6
Griffith families, 305-6
Gripenberg, Alexandra (Baroness), 295
Griscom, Elizabeth; *see* Mrs. Elizabeth Griscom Ross Ashburn Claypoole
Grist mills; *see* Mills
Grolier Club, 210
Gunderson, Robert G., 303
Gunpowder, 303
Gunpowder River, 305
Gunsmiths: Duncan Beard, 218; William Jones, 218; Frederick Shraeder, 218
Gustaf, Gustafs, Gustafsson; *see* Justis
Gwinnett, Button, 214

Hackett, William O., 68
Hair, as memento, 67
Haitsch, L. M., 136, 294
Hale, Nathaniel C., 298-99
Hall, Mr. (actor), opp. 11, 26
Hall, Mrs. (actress), opp. 11, 19
Hall, David, 144
Hall, James R., 25
Hall, Ruth Gardiner, 74
Hall, Willard, 243
Hallam, Lewis, 5
Halland, Swe., 198
Halloween: celebration, 157
Hamilton, Alexander: biography, 71, 145; writings, 43*n*, 44, 51-55
Hamilton, Andrew, 125, 126, 127, 128
Hammond, H. Edgar, 181, 188
"Hampton," 68-69
Hance, Peter, 299
Hancock, Harold, 295
Harder, Leland, 209
Harder, Marvin, 209
Harding, George, 167
Harper, Robert Goodloe, 54, 227, 228, 230
Harrington family, 74
Harris family, 295
Harrison, William Henry, 36
Harvard College Library, opp. 3
Haslet, John, 298
Hatmakers: Hans Smith (Smidt), 196, 199
Haverford College, 4*n*
Hay, 145, 194
Hayman, Mr., 138
Heacock, Charles Clement, 74
Heacock (HayCock), Jeremias, 197
Heacock, Roger Lee, 74
Health, Board of (Wilmington, Del.), 15*n*, 302
Hearsson, Rebecca; *see* Mrs. Rebecca Hearsson Justis
Hedge, Benjamin, 201

Hedges, William, 205
Hemphill, James, 133
Hemphill, William, 133, 138, 143
Hendrickson (Hindricsson), Andrew (Anders), 200
Hendrickson, Anna, 186
Hendrickson (Hindricsson), Brita: *see* Mrs. Brita Hindricsson Sinneckson
Hendrickson (Hindricsson), Mrs. Brita Mattson, 196
Hendrickson (Hindricsson), Mrs. Hindrich (Hindric), Jr., 189
Hendrickson (Hindricsson), Hindrich (Hindric), Sr., 186, 282
Hendrickson (Hindricsson), Mrs. Hindrich, Sr., 200, 281, 282, 289
Hendrickson, Isaac, 138
Hendrickson, Jacob, 274
Hendrickson (Hindricsson), Mrs. Johan, 196
Hendrickson, John, 281*n*
Hendrickson (Hindricsson), Mrs. Judith (Judica, 1666-1756), 200, 281, 282, 289
Hendrickson (Hindersson), Mrs. Malin (Magdalena), 274
Hendrickson, Maria; *see* Mrs. Maria Hendrickson Springer
Hendrickson (Hindricsson), Mrs. Maria Tussey, 189
Hendrickson (Hendrichsson), Peter, 203
Hendrickson, Williaminke; *see* Mrs. Williaminke Hendrickson Cornelius
Henlopen, Cape; *see* Cape Henlopen
Henry, Mrs.; *see* Mrs. Charles Burke
Henzey, John, 138
Herndon, John G., 306
Herrmann, Augustine, 137
Hesselius, Andreas: family, 184, 185, 274; Old Swedes pastor, 272*n*, 277, 280, 281, 283, 288
Hesselius, Mrs. Brita, 190
Hesselius, Christina, 191
Hesselius, Emanuel, 185
Hesselius, Gustaf, 280, 284, 287, 289, 290
Hesselius, Petrus, 184, 185
Hesselius, Samuel, 188, 191
Hesselius, Mrs. Samuel, 190
Hesselius, Mrs. Sara Walraven: marriage, 274; Old Swedes communicant, 277, 278, 280, 281, 283-90
Heverin family, 73
Hichborn, Benjamin, 48, 49-50
Higgins, Anthony, 74, 140
Higgins, Jesse, 66
Hilles, Eli, 139
Hindes, Ruthanna, 146
Hindricsson; *see* Hendrickson
Hines, Mrs. Cornelius, 203
Hines, Mrs. Sarah, 203
Hindersson, Hindric's, Hindricsson; *see* Hendrickson
Historical Society of Delaware: annual meetings, 133, 292; library, 10*n*, 19*n*, 21, 36, 62*n*-67, 73, opp. 132, 134, 137-40, opp. 150, 206, 217, 227*n*, 237*n*, 245*n*, 266*n*, 283*n*, 292, 294, 302; museum, 63-65, 133, 137, 146-47, 207-8, 292, 295; publications, 69, 140, 178, 244*n*, 257, 293; *see also* Old Town Hall, Wilmington, Del.
Historical Society of Maryland, 93-95
Historical Society of Pennsylvania: library, 44*n*, 56*n*, 203*n*, 276*n*-77*n*
Historiography, 219
Hodgson, Richard, 67
Hoeren-kill; *see* Whorekill
Hogs, 113
Holland: architecture, 78; *see also* Dutch, on Delaware River
Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, 89*n*; records, 178-205, 270-91
Home, John, 23
Hopman, Margret; *see* Mrs. Margret Hopman Vandever
Hostetler, John A., 220
Hotels, Inns, and Taverns: American Hotel, 36; Bayard, 8, 9, 10, 12, 35*n*; credit, 255; Cross Keys, 3*n*; DeHaven's, 8; Foul Anchor, 239; Indian King, 8*n*, 239; Indian Queen, 265, 266*n*; lodgers, 243; in politics, 254; Shakespear, 34*n*; temperance, 265, 266*n*, 268; Vandever, 3, 5, 7; vice, 14; Way's, 6; White Horse, 244; Witherspoon's, 71; Wolfe's, 6
House of Representatives, Del., 255-56, 259, 263, 265
House of Representatives, U. S.: elections, 46, 47, 51, 53, 259; impeachment trials, 225-36
Houses: "Aspendale," 136; bathhouse, 84, 91; bricks, 80-81, 92; clapboards, 79, 84, 88, 92, 94; Corbit, 136; Dickinson, opp. 133-36, 146, 295; Dutch, 211; "Kentmere," 207; Read, 63; Ridgely, 136; 17th century, 71-72, 79-80; stone, 88, 92; tiles, 80-81; "Tulip Hill," 302-3; turf, 77;

"Woodburn," 294-95; woodwork, 84; *see also* Caves
"Howard Pyle School of Art, The," by Dudley Lunt, 151-77
Howell, Richard, 63
Hoyt, Philip, 156, 163
Hudde, Andries, 84, 85
Hunn family, 74
Hunt, James, 276*n*
Hunter, Dard, 210
Hutson, Lucile L., 295-96
Hyman, Harold M., 225-36

Ice, 274*n*
Illustrations: Mrs. John Barnes, opp. 3; J. A. Bayard, Jr., opp. 236; J. A. Bayard, Sr., opp. 236; "The Chase," 167; "The Diver," 165; Dickinson House, opp. 133; "Halloween Costume," 157; Joseph Jefferson, II, opp. 3; manuscripts, opp. 133, 188; "Old Grist Mill," 157; Howard Pyle, opp. 150; temperance pledge, opp. 237, 269; theatre programs, opp. 10, 11; "To the West," 177; "Wilmington Street Scene," opp. 151; N. C. Wyeth, 151
Illustrators: F. O. C. Darley, 143-44; Howard Pyle, 151-77, 206, 217-18; N. C. Wyeth, 151-77, 206
Immanuel Church (New Castle, Del.), 213
Immigration: politics, 261-63; *see also* name of nationality
Impeachment: trials, 54, 225-31, 233-34, 236
Imports; *see* Commerce
Imprints, Delaware; *see* Printers, Delaware
Independence, Declaration of: Mecklenburg, 220
Indian King Hotel, 8*n*, 239
Indian Queen Hotel, 265, 266*n*
Indian River, 140, 306
Indians: ambush, 213; in art, 159; fish weir, 221; guides, 93; history, 301; interpreters, 226, 275*n*; land sales, 275*n*; treaties, 275*n*; wars, 93, 107-8; *see also* name of tribe; Owechela
Infant: mortality, 197, 198, 201-3, 205
Ingersoll, Mrs. E. Jefferson, 26
Ingersoll, Jared, 228, 230
Ingram, Mrs. Benjamin W., 220
Insects: mosquitoes, 213
Institute of Delaware History and Culture, 68, 136, 301
Into All Lands: History of SPGFP, by H. P. Thompson, 305
Irish: in Delaware, 138, 198, 261, 263
Iron, 83*n*
Iroquois Indians, 307
Irving, Washington, 212
Israel, Joseph, 66
Iverson (Iwar, Iwarsson), Mrs. Elisabeth, 282, 287
Iverson (Iwar, Iwarsson), Mrs. Hendric, 282, 287
Iverson (Iwersson), Johan, 183
Iverson (Iwar, Iwarsson), Mrs. Johan, 282
Iverson (Iwar, Iwarsson), Mrs. Maria, 282
Iverson (Iwar, Iwarsson), Walborg, 282

Jack, J. H., 6*n*
Jackson, ——— (child actor), 34
Jackson, Mr. (actor), 9, 10, opp. 11
Jackson (Jacksson), Daniel, 200
Jackson, Rachel, 197
James II (king of England), 106
Jannet; *see* Gennet
Janney family, 73
Japan, 171
Jaquett, Casparus, 200
Jaquett, Cornelius, 184, 190, 287
Jaquett, Mrs. Cornelius, 192
Jaquett, Johan, 184
Jaquett, Maria, 185
Jaquett, Mrs. Maria, 203, 287
Jaquett, Mary, 196
Jaquett, Peter, Jr., 185
Jaquett, Peter, Sr., 185
Jaquett, Susanna, 190
Jarman, Fanny; *see* Mrs. Frances Jarman Ternan
Jay, John, 43*n*
Jay Treaty, 42, 215-16, 226, 227
Jeans, Brita, 188, 189
Jefferson, Mrs. Cornelia Frances Thomas Burke, 11*n*, 25, 26, 27, 30, 40
Jefferson, Joseph, II, opp. 3, 11, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31
Jefferson, Mrs. Joseph, II; *see* Mrs. Cornelia F. T. B. Jefferson
Jefferson, Joseph, III, 27-28, 30, 34*n*, 134
Jefferson, Peter, 137
Jefferson, Thomas: Blount impeachment, 228*n*, 230; correspondence, 42, 46*n*, 47, 49-51, 55-63, 138; election (1800), 43-

45, 52-54; embargo, 216; Louisiana purchase, 145
Jefferson Temperance Society, 244
Jeffersonians, The, by L. D. White, 140-41
Jefferys, Thomas, 137
Jenkins, Francis, 299-300
Jenkins, Thomas, 213
Jennet; *see* Gennet
Jewelry, 4
Jewett, I. A., 216
Jews: Baltimore, Md., 171
"Jim Crow," 28, 29; *see also* Thomas D. Rice
Jöran, Mrs. Christiern, 289
Jöran, Mrs. Elisabeth, 289
Jören (Jurgen); *see* Jöran
Jöstasson, Jöstes, Jöstsson; *see* Justis
Johan; *see* Johnson
Johannsen, Robert W., 96-132
Johansson; *see* Johnson
John; *see* Jones
John Dickinson Mansion, opp. 133-36, 146, 295
Johns, Kensey, 63
Johnson, Aaron, 279*n*; *see also* Aaron Johnson Vandenburgh
Johnson (Johansson), Mrs. Aaron (Aron), 184, 279, 282; *see also* Mrs. Barbara James Johnson Vandenburgh
Johnson, Amandus, 88, 90, 272*n*
Johnson (Johansson), Mrs. Barbro, 184, 279, 282
Johnson (Johansson), Bertil, 288
Johnson (Johansson, Johan), Mrs. Bertil, 284, 289
Johnson (Johansson), Eskel (Eshel), 286, 288
Johnson (Johansson), Hendric; *see* Hendrick Johansson Orrhan
Johnson (Johansson, Johan), Mrs. Maria, 284, 289
Johnson family, 306
Jones, Mr. (actor), 5
Jones, Mrs. (a Friend), 21
Jones (Jons), Mrs. Anna Toarson, 182, 272, 273*n*, 277
Jones, George, 64, 144
Jones, Griffith, 104, 115*n*
Jones, H. Lloyd, Jr., 74
Jones, Hugh (of Md.), 300-1
Jones, Jacob, 207
Jones, John Paul, 139
Jones (Jonsson), Mrs. Margareta Peterson Stedham, 194, 277*n*, 279, 282
Jones, Robert, 284*n*
Jones, Mrs. Sarah, 218
Jones, Theophilus K., 244*n*
Jones (Jonsson), Thomas, 182, 272, 273*n*, 282
Jones, Thomas (Md. Capt.), 299-300
Jones (Jons), Mrs. Thomas (Anna), 182, 272, 273*n*, 277
Jones, Mrs. Thomas (Margareta), 194, 277*n*, 279, 282
Jones, William, 218
Jones County, Del., 99; *see also* Kent County
Jons, Jonsson; *see* Jones
Joran, Joren; *see* Jöran
Jordan, Darby, 198
Judge, Hugh, 306
Jugglers, 13
July, Fourth of: celebrations, 246-47
June, Titus, Angevine & Co., 14
Justice; *see* Justis
Justis (Gustafsson), Anders (Andrew, 1681-1740), 183, 185, 273, 276*n*, 277, 281, 283, 285, 289, 290
Justis, Anders (1716-1762), 201, 203, 204
Justis (Justice), Anders (1723-65), 205
Justis (Justice), Mrs. Anders (Anna, d. 1765), 205
Justis (Gustafsson), Mrs. Anders (Brita, d. 1737), 193, 273, 277, 281, 283, 285, 289, 290
Justis, Mrs. Anders (Dorothea, d. 1761), 203
Justis, Mrs. Anders (Mary, d. 1756), 201
Justis (Gustaf), Mrs. Anders (Sara, m. 1716), 287
Justis (Justice), Mrs. Anna Garretson, 205
Justis, Mrs. Anna Morton, 277*n*
Justis, Anne, 204
Justis, Annika; *see* Mrs. Annika Justis Morton Walraven Springer
Justis, Brita (1707-20), 185
Justis, Mrs. Brita; *see* Mrs. Anders Justis; Mrs. Johan Justis, Jr.; Mrs. Johan Justis, Sr.; Mrs. Mårten Justis
Justis (Gustafsson), Mrs. Brita (d. 1737), 193, 273, 277, 281, 283, 285, 289, 290
Justis (Gustafsson), Mrs. Brita Månsson

(d. 1724), 187, 276, 277*n*, 280, 281, 284, 286, 288, 289, 290

Justis (Gustafsson), Mrs. Brita Stalcop, 275, 280, 281, 283, 286, 287, 289, 291

Justis (Gustafsson), Mrs. Brita Walraven (1693-1747), 276, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 287, 288, 289, 290

Justis (Gustafsson), Mrs. Catharina (Katharina) Walraven, 199, 273, 275, 279, 280, 281, 284, 285, 286, 288, 289, 290, 291

Justis, Charles, 276*n*, 277*n*

Justis (Gustafsson), Mrs. Christiana (Kerstin) Lycan, 280, 282, 284, 286

Justis, Mrs. Christina Stalcop, 275*n*

Justis (Gustafsson), Mrs. Dorothea Paulson, 203

Justis (Gustafsson), Gustaf, Jr. (Gustave, Justa; 1686-1760), 202, 277*n*, 280, 282, 284, 286

Justis (Gustafsson), Mrs. Gustaf (Justa), Jr., 280, 282, 284, 286

Justis, Gustaf, Sr. (Justa), 277*n*, 284*n*

Justis (Gustafsson), Gustaf (Justa; 1716-1739), 194, 284*n*

Justis (Gustafson), Gustafwus (1708-28), 190

Justis (Göstafsson), Hance, 276*n*, 277*n*

Justis (Gustafsson), Helena, 284

Justis, James (Jöns, of N. J.), 276*n*

Justis (Justice), Jesper, 202

Justis (Gustaf, Gustafsson), Johan (John), Jr. (b. c 1681), 182, 183, 190, 275, 276*n*, 277*n*, 280, 281, 283, 286, 287, 289, 291

Justis (Gustafsson), Mrs. Johan (John), Jr., 275, 280, 281, 283, 286, 287, 289, 291

Justis (Gustafsson), Johan (John), Sr. (b. in Swe.), 276*n*, 277*n*, 288

Justis (Gustafsson), Mrs. Johan (John), Sr., 187, 276, 277*n*, 280, 281, 284, 286, 288, 289, 290

Justis (Gustaf), Johannes (d. 1715), 183

Justis, John (c 1736-1755), 200

Justis (Gustaf), Jonas, 183

Justis (Justisson), Joseph, 200

Justis, Justa (b. 1656), 276*n*, 277*n*

Justis, Justa; *see also* Gustaf Justis

Justis, Mrs. Justa (d. 1751), 197

Justis, Kerstin; *see* Mrs. Christiana (Kerstin) Lycan Justis

Justis (Giostason), Lydia; *see* Mrs. Lydia Justis Aurén

Justis (Gustafsson), Måns (Mounce, c1683-c1774), 273, 275, 277*n*, 279, 280, 281, 284, 285, 286, 288, 289, 290, 291

Justis (Gustafsson), Mrs. Måns, 199, 273, 275, 279, 280, 281, 284, 285, 286, 288, 289, 290, 291

Justis, Margreta; *see* Mrs. Margreta Justisson King

Justis, Maria, 182

Justis (Gustaf's, Gustafsson, Justice), Mårten (Morton, c1688-1765), 183, 196, 205, 276, 277*n*, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 287, 288, 289, 290

Justis, Mrs. Mary Seeds, 201

Justis, Mounce (of Phila. Co.), 276*n*, 277*n*

Justis (Justice), Nils, 196

Justis (Justice), Paul (Pofvel), 192, 202

Justis, Mrs. Rebecca Hearsson, 197

Justis (Gustaf), Mrs. Sara Månsson, 287

Justis (Justice), Sarah (d. 1750), 196

Justis (Justice), Sven (1728-50), 195

Justis (Justice), Sven (d. 1750), 196

Justis, Swan (son of John, Sr.), 276*n*, 277*n*

Justis, Swen (d. 1715), 183

Justisson; *see* Justis

Kalb, Johan de, 144

Kalm, Peter, 70, 87, 88

Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 263

Kauffman, Henry J., 218

Kean, Edmund, 10*n*

Kelley, Mr. (actor), 5, 7*n*

Kemble, Fanny, 29*n*

Kenney, James, 20*n*

"Kentmere" (house), 207

Kentucke, Discovery . . . of, by J. Filson, 217

Kent, James, 145

Kent County, Del.: agriculture, 253; American party, 264, 265; churches, 147, 213, 220, 242; epidemics, 130*n*; genealogy, 74; proprietor, 99; taxes, 102*n*; *see also* Jones County

Kent County, Md., 301-2

Kent County, Md., Militia, by Mrs. W. G. Buckey, 302

Kenton, Del., 136

Kerr, Mr., 14

Killen, Mrs. Rebecca Tranberg Benzel, 205*n*

Killen, William, 205*n*
Kinekulle, Sweden, 276*n*
King, Christeen; *see* Mrs. Christeen King Månsson
King, Mrs. Edward, 199
King, Mrs. Margreta Justisson, 199
King, Maria, 200
King William's War, 107, 108
King's Road; *see* Roads
Kingsessing, 85
"Kingston-upon-Hull," 134-35; *see also* John Dickinson Mansion
Kirk, Mrs., 204
Kirk, Mrs. Dorothea, 197
Kirk, Mrs. Jonathan, 197
Kirk (Kirck), Mary, 197
Kirkwood, Robert, 36
Kitchen, Priscilla, 74
Knight, H., opp. 11
Know Nothing Party, 260, 262
Knowles (Nowels), Francis, 197
Knowles, Sheridan, 23
Knox, Hugh, 71, 145
Kota, 87
Kotzebue, August von, 3, 6*n*, 22
Kruse, Albert, 136, 301

Labadists, 97
Labor: 17th century, 83, 87; Sunday, 17*n*; *see also* names of trades; Servants
Lafayette, Marie Paul, Marquis de, 296-97; headquarters, 157
La Follette, Robert, Sr., 225
Lake Champlain: *see* Champlain
Lamborn, Eli, 8*n*
Lancaster County, Pa., 220
Land: colonial, 193*n*; rent, 119; sales, 275*n*; western, 207
Langdon, Sarah M., 38, 39*n*
Languages: Finnish, 217; Swedish, 217
Larson, Harold, 145
Latimer, George, 58, 59
Latrobe, Benjamin H., 63, 72
Laurel, Del., 213
Lavoisier, Antoine, 303
Law: colonial, 119-21, 300; commentaries, 145; common, 211, 228*n*, 300
Lawrrnsen, Peter, 79*n*
Lawson, Annake; *see* Mrs. Annika Clements Tussey
Lawson, Jacob, 272*n*
Layton, C. S., 266*n*
Layton family, 74
Leatherbury family, 306
Leaton (Lietken), George (Jöran), 272, 274
Leaton (Litien), Mrs. Kerstin, 272, 274
Lecturers: Fanny Wright, 37
Leder, Lawrence H., 212
Lee, Robert E. (Gen.), 67
Lee family, 306
Leeward Islands, 297
LeGear, Clara Egli, 72
Legislature, Delaware: 240, 257-59, 264; *see* Council; House of Assembly; House of Representatives; Senate
Leisenring, L. Morris, 302-3
Leisler, Jacob, 212
Lerchenzeiler, Johan William, 278, 283, 286, 288
Lerchenzeiler, Mrs. Johan Wilhelm, 184, 283, 286, 288
Lerchenzeiler, Mrs. Susanna Catharina, 184, 283, 286, 288
Letters from a Farmer, by J. Dickinson, 141
Lewes, Del.: archaeology, 71-72; description (1670), 94-95; Dutch colony, 79, 93, 208-9; massacre, 93; population (1670), 79; privateers, 113, 115; salt, 139; War of 1812, 64; *see also* Whorekill
Lewis, H. C., 307
Lewis, W. K., 307
Lewis, William D., 70, 260*n*
Lewis family, 74
Liberman, Cy, 210-11
"Liberty Song," by J. Dickinson, 146
Libraries; *see* Wilmington Library Company
Library of Congress: Delawareana, 74; manuscripts, 42*n*, 44*n*, 45*n*, 48*n*, 49*n*, 51*n*, 57*n*
License: system, 255, 268
Lidenius, Abraham, 182, 272*n*, 274, 275, 279*n*, 280, 281, 283, 284
Lidenius, Mrs. Elisabeth, 284
"Life and Death of Wilmington's First Theatre, The," by W. H. Conner, 3-41
Life in America, by M. Davidson, 72
Life of George Read, 63
Lightcap, Earl Jacob, Jr., 220-21
Lighting: gaslamp, 147

Likens; *see* Lycan
Lime, 88
Lindeström, Peter, 86
Linens: imports, 138
Linmeyer, Mrs. Christopher, 194
Linn, James, 50*n*, 56, 57
Liquor: control, 237-69; rum, 173, 214
Liston, Robert, 226
Liston Point, Del., 147
Liston's Conspiracy; *see* William Blount, impeachment
Lithographs, 218
Litien; *see* Leaton
Little Falls Creek; *see* Mill Creek
Little Timber Creek, N. J., 78
Liverpool, Eng., 304
Livingston, Edward, 50*n*, 52, 57, 60, 61, 62
Lloyd, David, 110, 116, 125*n*, 127, 128, 130
Lloyd, Philemon, Jr., 79, 93-95
Lloyd, Philemon, Sr., 93, 94
Lloyd, Thomas, 101, 106, 110
Lobbies: liquor, 268
Locofocos, 257, 260, 261; *see also* Democratic party
Lodge, Henry C., opp. 150
Lofland, John, 250-51
Log: buildings, 135, 136, 142, 295
Log Cabin Myth, by H. Shurtleff, 77
"Log Structures in New Sweden during the Seventeenth Century," by C. A. Weslager, 77-95
Logan, James: Proprietary Sec., 100, 124-25, 129, 130*n*, 131, 132
Logging; *see* Timber
Loinan; *see* Lynam
London, Eng., 70
London, Ambrosius, 185
London, Mrs. Brita Walraven, 185, 283, 289
London, Joseph, 185
London Bridge, (Md.), DAR, 302
Longevity; *see* Burial Records
Loockerman, Nicholas, 212
Loockerman family, 212
Lorimer, George, 161
Lorrain, Bolton, & Anderson, 214
Lovelace, Francis, 94, 95, 284*n*
Low Countries, 209
Loyalists: biographies, 66; in Sussex Co., Del., 306
Loyalty; *see* Sedition
"Lucy Ann" (whaling ship), opp. 11, 31
Ludwell family, 306
Lumbering: Swedes, 83; *see* Timber; Trees
Lunt, Dudley, 151-77
Lute, 33
Lutheran Church, 83, 84, 89*n*, 178-205, 213, 270-91
Lycan, Brita; *see* Mrs. Brita Lycan Seeds Milner
Lycan, Christiana; *see* Mrs. Christiana (Kerstin) Lycan Justis
Lycan, Mrs. Mary, 200*n*, 280*n*
Lycan, Neils, 200*n*, 280*n*
Lydenberg, Henry M., 212
Lynam (Loinan), Andrew (Anders), 184 282, 283, 285, 286, 288, 289, 290
Lynam (Loina), Mrs. Andrew (Anders), 194, 288
Lynam (Loinam), Mrs. Brita, 282, 283, 285, 286, 288, 289, 290
Lynam, George, 272*n*
Lynam, Maria, 184
Lyon, Matthew, 50

Macdonough, Thomas, 210, 218
Machinery: cotton, 307
Madison, James: Blount impeachment, 227, 228*n*; election (1800), 43*n*, 44*n*, 45, 57*n*, 62, 63
Mahoney, William T., 136-37, 294
Maine Law: in Delaware, 237, 248, 259, 265; League, 259, 260, 264
Manken, Richard, 183
Månsson, Mrs. Annika, 288, 290
Månsson, Bengt, 186
Månsson, Brita; *see* Mrs. Brita Månsson Justis
Månsson, Catharina Esther (Ester), 187, 188, 190
Månsson (Monsson), Mrs. Christeen King (1719-52), 197
Månsson, Hindric, 190
Månsson, Mrs. Ingeborg, 282, 284, 285, 287, 289
Månsson, Johannes (d. 1715), 183, 279
Månsson, Johannes (d. 1726), 186, 187, 188, 282, 285
Månsson (Mans), Mrs. Johannes, 282, 284, 285, 287, 289
Månsson (Monsson), Mrs. John, 197
Månsson, Mrs. Karin (Carin, d. 1729), 190, 274, 279, 281, 284, 286, 288, 290

Månsson, Maria, 187
Månsson, Olle, 189, 190
Månsson, Olof, 274
Månsson, Paul, 187, 188
Månsson, Peter (d. 1729), 190
Månsson, Peter (of Bochten, d. 1723), 186
Månsson, Peter (of St. George's, d. 1723), 186
Månsson, Peter, Jr., 183, 288, 290
Månsson, Mrs. Peter, Jr. (Annika), 288, 290
Månsson, Peter, Sr. (d. 1718), 183, 184, 279, 281, 284, 286, 288, 290
Månsson, Mrs. Peter, Sr. (d. 1729), 190, 274, 279, 281, 284, 286, 288, 290
Månsson, Petrus (d. 1723), 186
Månsson, Sara; *see* Mrs. Sara Månsson Justis
Månsson, Susanna, 189
Maps: American Revolution, 297; Delaware, 72; Fry and Jefferson (1751), 137-38; Henry (1770), 137; Herrmann (1670), 137; Kentucky, 217; Smith (1608), 137; Wilmington, 72, 217; Yorktown, 218
Marcus Hook (Chichester), Pa., 276*n*
Mare, John, 73
Marine Museum, Mystic, Conn., 220
Markham, William, 98, 99, 101, 106, 110, 112, 115*n*
Marriage: Del. records, 73, 147
Marsh, T. J., 64
Marshall, John, 43*n*
Marshall family, 73
Martens; *see* Morton
Martin, Thomas (Thomos), 189
Marvin, Theodore, 135
Mary II (queen of England), 106, 112
Marye, William B., 79*n*
Maryland: architecture, 68; archives, 45*n*, 71; boundaries, 293-94; census (1790), 302; churches, 147; courts, 299-300; election of 1800, 58; Friends, 219; Germans, 219; Indians, 275*n*; lands, 63, 93-95; literature, 220; maps, 137; militia, 301-2; Negroes, 302; Puritans, 298-99; relations with Del., 93-95, 299-300
Maryland Hall of Records Commission, 71
Maryland Historical Society: manuscripts, 45*n*
Maslander, Mrs. Helena (Helekin), 272, 277, 282, 284, 287, 290
Maslander, William, 277, 282, 284, 287, 290
Maslander, Mrs. William, 272, 277, 282, 284, 287, 290
Mason, Charles, 136-37, 293-94
Mason, Stevens T., 44, 45, 47, 48*n*, 57*n*
Mason-Dixon Survey, 136-37, 293-94
Masons (trade), 88
Masquerades, 171-72
Massey, George V., II, 73-74, 306
Mathew, Hanna, 188, 189
Matthew, Edward, 187, 188
Mattson, Brita; *see* Mrs. Brita Mattson Hendrickson
Maturin, Charles Robert, 10*n*
Maule, Joshua, 139
Maxwell family, 208
Mayer; *see* Meyer
Maynard, Mrs.; *see* Mrs. Charles Burke
McCallmont, James, 215
McCann, Master, 17*n*
McCarthy, Joseph, 226
McComb, Eleazer, 209
McCormick, Richard P., 133
McCullough, James, 215
McDonough; *see* Macdonough
McDowell, Daniel, 295
McDowell, James, 295
McGennet, Mrs. Morten, 198
McHenry, James, 48*n*
McKean, Thomas, 142, 209
McKie, Douglas, 303
McKinly, John, 67
McLane, Allen: collector of port, 53, 58, 59; portrait, 209
McLane, Louis, 209
Meadows, Miss (actress), 27, 29, 30
Meat: preservation, 91
Mecklenburg Dec. of Independence, 220
Medals: Jacob Jones, 207
Medicine: 18th century, 206; *see also* Death, causes of; Diseases; Drugs; Physicians
Mejer; *see* Meyer
Memoir of the Geological Survey of the State of Delaware, 70
Memorials: Wilmington (1795), 215-16
Mendenhall family, 73, 74
Mennonites, 97; records, 209
Merritt, Elizabeth, 299-300

Methodist Church, 68, 147; temperance, 237, 242, 243
Methodist Historical Society, 68
Meyer, Christopher, 183
Meyer, Margareta, 185
Meyer (Moyer), Mary, 278, 281
Meyer, Michel, 183, 185
Meyer (Mayer), Mrs. Peter, 191, 278, 282, 288, 290
Meyer (Mejer), Sara, 191
Meyer (Mejer), Mrs. Sara, 191, 278, 282, 288, 290
Microscope, 36
Middle Branch (Muddy Run), 136
Middle Colonies: architecture, 142
Middlebrook, N. J., 144
Middlecot, Mr., 10, opp. 10
Middletown, Del.: churches, 71, 293; taverns, 71
Mifflin, Warner, 242
Milford, Del.: conventions, 243
"Milford Bard"; *see* John Lofland
Militia, Delaware: American Revolution, 297-98, 301-2; colonial, 108, 109, 131, 297; War of 1812, 215
Mill Creek (Andries ye Fynnes', Little, and Richardson's Run), Del., 90
Mill Creek, N. J., 84
Mill Creek Hundred, Del.: mills, 90
Miller, Edward, 294
Miller, John C., 141
Miller, Samuel, 294
Millers: Torter Pew, 187
Milligan, Sarah Jones, 209
Millman, Henry Hart, 29*n*
Mills: flour, 139; grist, 72, 85-86, 90-91, 157, 165; Norse, 90*n*; paper, 206, 210; powder, 303, 305; Red Clay, 138; saw, 91; stones, 138; Swedes', 90-91; Wilmington, 139
Milman, Dean, 29
Milne, Edmund, 208
Milner, Mrs. Brita Lycan Seeds, 200
Milner (Miller), Mrs. Thomas, 200
Milsson, Mrs. Edward, 183, 277, 281
Milsson, Mrs. Sara, 183, 277, 281
Mink (Minck), Anders, 272
Mink, Gertrud, 182
Mink (Minck), Grels, 272
Mink (Minck) family, 272*n*
Minors: liquor, 239
Minstrelsy, 28, 29
Mirrors, 143
Mish, Mary V., 302
Missouri Argus (St. Louis), 207
Mitchell, Mr. (actor), 5
Mitchell, Mrs. (actress), 5
Mitchell, Broadus, 71
Moll, John, 89, 98
Molleston, Alexander (E---r), 95
Molndal, (Pa.), 86
Monroe, James: election (1800), 44, 45*n*, 54, 56*n*; presidency, 70
Monsson; *see* Månsson
Moore, Bessy Dyke, 28*n*
Moore, Edward, 30*n*
Moore, George, 89
Moore, Guernsey, 161
Moore, Thomas (poet), 28*n*
Morgan, Mrs., 33
Morgan, Richard D., 306
Morgan family, 73, 306
Morison, Samuel Eliot, 298
Morris, Gouverneur, 43, 51, 214-5
Morris, Mrs. Helena, 188, 189
Morris, John (Johan), 190
Morris, Mrs. John (Johan), 188, 189
Morris, Lewis Robert, 56
Morris, Thomas, 216
Morton, Andrew, 286*n*, 287*n*
Morton, Anna; *see* Mrs. Anna Morton Justis
Morton, Mrs. Annika; *see* Mrs. Annika Justis Morton Walraven Springer
Morton (Mårten), Mrs. Brita (Bridget), 278
Morton (Mårtens), Christina (Christiana, Kerstin), 284, 285, 287, 288, 290
Morton (Morten), Mrs. Christina (Kerstin) Walraven (1701-54), 199, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290
Morton, Mrs. Christina (1728-50), 196
Morton (Morten), Elisabeth (d. 1759), 202
Morton, Mrs. Elizabeth (1701-56), 201
Morton (Morten), Johan (John), 193, 194
Morton (Morten), Johan, Jr. (d. 1754), 199
Morton, John (son of Mathias), 286*n*
Morton (Morten), Mrs. John, (d. 1741), 195

Morton (Morten), Jonas, Jr. (1721-54), 199
Morton, Joseph, 202
Morton, Kerstin; *see* Christina Morton
Morton (Mårtensson), Mrs. Kerstin, 289, 290
Morton (Mårten), Mrs. Laurence (Lars), 278
Morton, Maria, 286*n*
Morton, Mathias, Jr., 286*n*
Morton, Mrs. Mathias, Jr., 200
Morton, Mathias, Sr., 276*n*, 277*n*, 286*n*
Morton, Mrs. Mathias, Sr., 201
Morton (Mårtensson, Morten), Morton (Mårten), 192, 194, 202, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290
Morton, Mrs. Morton (Kerstin), 289, 290
Morton (Morten), Mrs. Morten (Sara, d. 1759), 202
Morton, Peter, 286*n*
Morton, Mrs. Rebecca, 200
Morton (Morten), Mrs. Sarah (d. 1759), 202
Morton, Tobias, 278*n*
Mortonson, Morton, Sr., 286*n*
Mosquitoes, 213
Mott, Frank Luther, 146
Mott, Lucretia, 253*n*, 304
"Mount Vernon" (house), 216
Moyer; *see* Meyer
Moyne, Ernest J., 70, 217, 295
Muddy Run, 136
Muhlenberg, Henry, 60
Munroe, John A., 74, 134, 142-43, 301
Murcoyne, Margaret; *see* Margaret Murcoyne Burke
Murderkill River, 137
Murdoch, James E., 23*n*, 32, 33, 34, 40
Museums: Del. State, 74, 135, 136, 295; Historical Society of Del., 63-65, 133, 137, 146-47, 207-8, 292, 295; Marine, 220; Winterthur, 136
Music: bands, 14, 32; choral books, 66-67; instruments, 4, 33, 34, 219; in political campaigns, 254; songs, 33, 146; teachers, 11*n*, 34*n*; in theatre, 9, 19, 22, 23, 25, 34; *see also* Opera

Naaman's Creek, 221, 276*n*
Nails, 87
Names: streets, 139-40
Nanticoke Indians, 307
Nanticoke River, 93, 94
National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 134
Nativism, 261-63
Naudain family, 73
Navajo Indians, 177*n*
Navigation Acts . . . , The, by O. M. Dickerson, 141
Needles, Mrs. Sarah Cubbage, 296
Needles, Thomas, 296
Negroes: folklore, 140; free, 252, 259, 262
New Amstel: administration, 67, 72-73; houses, 88; *see also* New Castle
New Amsterdam: directors, 299; houses, 80, 82*n*
New Castle, Del.: Arsenal, 6, 9; bathhouse, 91; brickmakers, 80; churches, 212-13; commerce, 102; Common, 119; courts, 86, 99, 265-66; description (1700), 119; fort, 111; houses, 63, 89, 91, 142; Penn's arrival, 98; port, 102, 292; provincial govt., 109, 113-14, 117, 131; public speakers, 260; settlers, 147; survey (1804), 72; tercentenary, 74; *see also* Fort Casimir, Fort Trinity, New Amstel
New Castle County, Del.: American party, 265; churches, 212-13, 242*n*; courts, 86, 99, 265-66, 278*n*; elections, 3*n*; Negroes, 252; petitions (1700), 116; provincial government, 99, 116, 129; public records, 16, 271
New Castle Tercentenary Commission, Report, 211
New Church (Swedenborgian), 305
New Deale (Kent) County, 99
New England: federalism, 43, 53
New Jersey: churches, 213; elections, 56; log houses, 88-89; maps, 137; relations with Del., 133; settlers, 84, 85, 98, 182, 274, 275*n*, 277*n*, 285*n*; *see also* East Jersey; West Jersey
New Jerusalem Church; *see* New Church (Swedenborgian)
New London, Pa., 221
New Metropolitan Theatre, Wilmington, Del., 6*n*
New Sweden: colony, 77-92
New Year: resolutions, 238*n*
New York: Indians, 307; politics, 43, 57, 212
New York City, N.Y.: 207; art, 173; Bowling Green, 146; Dutch, 77; museums, 72; theatres, 18, 22*n*, 24, 41*n*, 71
Newark, Del.: population, 65, 202*n*

Newark Academy, 71
"News Notes and Book Reports," 63-74, 133-48, 206-21, 292-307
Newspapers: advertisements, 9; *American Watchman* (Wilmington), 5, 64; *Aurora* (Philadelphia), 48, 215; *Delaware and Eastern Shore Advertiser* (Wilmington), 141; *Delaware Gazette* (Wimington), opp. 11, 12, 13, 14, 17*n*, 68, 74, 139, 259; *Delaware State Journal* (Wilmington), 14, 17*n*, 259, 264; editors, 139, 294; history, 146; microfilm, 65; *Missouri Argus* (St. Louis), 207; *Niles Weekly Register*, 61; *Philadelphia Gazette*, 48*n*; prohibition, 265; *Standard* (Wilmington), 248, 255; *Sunday Star* (Wilmington), 68, 140; type, 71
Newspapers, American Journalism, A History of, by F. L. Mott, 146
Nicholas, John, 57, 58
Nicholas, W. C., 61
Nicholites, 147
Nichols, Joseph, 147
Nicholson, Francis, 122-23
Nicholson, Joseph: election (1800), 44*n*, 45*n*, 48, 50*n*, 57
Nickalls, John L., 213
Niles, Hezekiah, 61-62
Nilson, Elias, 188, 189
Nilsson, Mrs. Margreta, 275
Nilsson, Olof, 275
Nordenlind, Eric, 202
Norris, Isaac, 118-19, 125*n*
North Carolina: maps, 137
Northwest Ordinance (1787), 229
Norwegians, 304
Nothstein, Ira Oliver, 84
Nottingham Academy, 217, 220
Nowels; *see* Knowles
Noxontown, Del., 137
Nullification Movement, 216
Nuttall, Geoffrey F., 213
Nys, Johannis, 293

Oak Orchard, Del., 140
Oakley, Thornton, 174
Oath: loyalty, 231-35; of office (1700), 116
Odd Fellows Hall (Wilmington, Del.), 4*n*, 6, 11*n*, 35*n*, 39
Odessa, Del., 136, 142; *see also* Cantwell's Bridge
Ogden, Mr., 50
Ogle, Mrs. Christina (Catharina) Springer, 202
Ogle, Elizabeth, 89*n*
Ogle, James, 202*n*
Ogle, Thomas, Jr., 202*n*
Ogle, Thomas, Sr., 202*n*
Ogle family, 202*n*
Ohio, 216, 220, 305
Old Kent, (Md.), DAR, 302
Old New Castle and Modern Delaware, 74
Old Swedes (Holy Trinity) Church, Wilmington, Del.: architecture, 142, 185, 213, 276*n*; cemetery, 277*n*; clergy, 178-79, 182, 184, 185, 195, 201*n*, 202, 205, 272*n*-75, 277, 279-81, 283-84, 288; records, 178-205, 270-91
Old Town Hall, Wilmington, Del.: exhibitions, 36; HSD opening, 292; public meetings, 39*n*
Olds, Irving S., 210
On Freedom's Altar, by H. C. Wolf, 304
Opera: *Bombastes Furioso*, 8; *Mountaineers*, 10; *Paul and Virginia*, 27
Orchards, 165
Original Settlements on the Delaware, by B. Ferris, 208
Orphans' Court, Del., 191*n*
Orrhan, Hindric (Heike, Henric) Johansson (d. 1715), 183, 281
Ostersen, Walborg, 277, 280
Otis, Harrison Gray, 54
Otis, Bass, 218
Otto of the Silver Hand, by H. Pyle, 154
Otway, Thomas, 20
Owechela (King of the Delawares), 275*n*
Owen (Owan), Mr. (1682-1762), 203
Owen, Griffith, 110
Owens, Mrs. Elisabeth, 183
Owens, John (Johan), 189
Owens, Mrs. John (Johan), 183
Owens, Sara, 189
Oxley, John H., 23*n*, 32, 33, 34

Paine, Elijah, 61-62
Palatinus, Casparus, 185
Palmer, William Jackson, 147
Pålsson; *see* Paulson
Panic of 1837, 41
Paper: mills, 210
Paper Mill Road; *see* Roads

Papermaking in Pioneer America, by D. Hunter, 210
Parke, Daniel, 297
Parker, Christian (Kerstin); *see* Mrs. Christian Parker Constantine
Parker (Perker), Pella, 274*n*
Parker, Theodore, 253*n*
Parlin, Mrs. Elizabeth; *see* Mrs. Elizabeth Tranberg Parlin Springer
Parlin, Olove, 205*n*
Parlin, Peter, 204
Paschall, Thomas, 83*n*
Patents: office, 219
Patterson, Alexander, 144
Paulson (Pålsson), Andrew (Andreas), 191
Paulson (Paulsson), Anna (Anne), 197, 200
Paulson, Bartholomew, 195
Paulson (Pålsson), Mrs. Benct (Bengt?), 190
Paulson (Pålsson), Benjamin, 187
Paulson (Paulsson), Brita; *see* Mrs. Brita Paulsson Anderson
Paulson (Poulson), Catharina, 195
Paulson (Paulsson), Elizabeth, 195
Paulson (Pålsson), Mrs. Elizabeth, 282, 287
Paulson (Pålsson), Mrs. Geizie, 189, 283, 287
Paulson (Pålson), Jacob, 186
Paulson (Pålsson), Jean, 187
Paulson (Paulsson), Jesper, 204
Paulson (Paulsson), Johan, 198
Paulson (Pålsson), Mrs. John, 191
Paulson (Pålssen), Kerstin, 274
Paulson, Mrs. Kerstin, 282, 287
Paulson, Mrs. Margareta, 190
Paulson (Pålssen), Maria, 274
Paulson (Paulsson), Mrs. Mary Petersson, 196
Paulson (Pålson, Polson), Olle, 186, 194
Paulson (Pålsson), Olof, Jr., 282, 287
Paulson (Pålsson), Mrs. Olof, Jr., 282, 287
Paulson (Pals', Poulson), Mrs. Olof, Sr., 282, 287
Paulson (Paulsson), Olof, III, 195
Paulson (Paulsson), Mrs. Olof (1721-50), 196
Paulson (Paulsson), Paul, (d. 1713), 182
Paulson, Paul (1736-58), 201
Paulson (Poulsen), Paulus (d. 1733), 191
Paulson (Pålsson), Peter (d. 1730), 190
Paulson (Pålsson), Peter (son of Olof), 287
Paulson (Pålsson), Peter, Jr., 190, 191, 192, 194
Paulson, Peter (d. 1755), 200
Paulson, Mrs. Peter (d. 1728), 189, 283, 285, 287
Paulson, Mrs. Peter (d. 1739), 194
Paulson (Pouelson), Pouel, 192
Paulson (Pouelson), Rebecca, 192
Paulson (Pålsson), Ruth, 198
Paulson (Paulsson), Simon, 197
Paulson (Pålsson), Mrs. Sophia, 191
Paulson (Pålsson), Susannah, 199
Paulson (Pålsson), Sven, 190
Paulson (Paulsson), William, 200
Payne, John Howard, 12, 30
Peale, Charles Willson, 144, 209-10
Peck, Henry, 155
Peets, Orville H., 212
Peiffer, Henry, 172
Pen and Ink Club, 166
Pencader Hundred: churches, 305-6
Penn, William: at New Castle, 98; provinces, 96-132, 301; title to Delaware, 123-24; writings, 82, 130*n*
Penn family, 145-46
Pennell family, 74
Pennock family, 74
Pennocks of Primitive Hall, The, 73
Penn's Neck, N. J., 274*n*
Pennsylvania: Amish, 220; boundaries, 293-94, 300-1; colonial charters, 99, 115*n*, 116, 117, 122, 124, 126, 127, 130, 132; Committee of Safety, 63; courts, 109; currency, 70, 138; defense, 107-12, 114; lands, 193*n*, 276*n*, 281*n*; log houses, 88-89; maps, 137; militia, 114; provincial administration, 96-132; relations with Delaware, 96-132; relations with French, 107-8, 111-12; relations with Indians, 110-11, 307; relations with N.Y., 111, 114; *see also* names of cities, towns
Pennsylvania German: art, 67
Pennsylvania Mercury (Phila., Pa.), 71
Pennsylvania Railroad, 4*n*
Pepper and Salt, by H. Pyle, 154
Perker; *see* Parker
Periodicals: *Century*, 154, 160; *Collier's*, 160, 170, 171, 176; *Delaware Register*,

250*n*; *Delineator*, 160, 176; *Dickinson Law Review*, 211; *Everybody's*, 160; *Harper's*, 154, 160; *Leslie's*, 169, 173; *McClure's*, 154, 160; *Metropolitan*, 160, 176; *Outing*, 160; *St. Nicholas*, 154; *Saturday Evening Post*, 161; *Scribner's Monthly*, 153, 154, 160, 164, 173, 175, 176; *Success*, 161, 169, 176

Petersen; *see* Peterson

Peterson (Petersson), Andrew (Anders), 182

Peterson (Petersson), Anna; *see* Mrs. Anna Petersson Race

Peterson (Petersson), Mrs. Annika, 282, 286

Peterson (Petersson), Catharina, 190

Peterson, Charles, 136

Peterson (Petersson), Christian, 274-75

Peterson (Petersson), Mrs. Elisabeth, 290, 291

Peterson (Petersson), Gabriel, 274

Peterson (Petersson), Hance (d. 1723), 186

Peterson (Petersson), Hans, 187, 188, 274

Peterson (Petersson), Hans, 282

Peterson (Petersson [Smith]), Hans, 191

Peterson (Petersson), Mrs. Hans (Annika), 282, 286

Peterson (Petersson), Mrs. Hans (Sara), 274

Peterson (Petersson [Caupeny]), Helena (d. 1730), 190

Peterson (Petersson [Caupeny]), Mrs. Helena, 274, 278, 281, 283, 284

Peterson (Petersson), Israel, 186, 284

Peterson (Petersen), Mrs. Karin, 194, 277, 278, 285

Peterson (Petersson), Mrs. Kerstin, 274

Peterson (Petersen), Lucas, 90

Peterson (Peterssen), Magdalena, 286, 291

Peterson, Margareta; *see* Mrs. Margareta Peterson Stedham Jones

Peterson (Petersson), Mrs. Margareta, 284

Peterson (Petersen), Margreta (d. 1739), 194

Peterson (Peterssen), Maria, 281, 284, 286, 287, 288, 289

Peterson (Petersson), Mary, 290, 291

Peterson (Petersson), Mary; *see* Mrs. Mary Petersson Brynberg

Peterson (Petersson), Mary; *see* Mrs. Mary Petersson Paulson

Peterson (Petersson), Matthias (Matz), 183*n*, 184

Peterson (Petersson), Mrs. Matz, 290

Peterson (Petersson), Peter, 190, 193, 202, 282

Peterson (Petersson), Peter (over Brandywine), 278, 285

Peterson (Petersson), Peter, Sr., 202

Peterson (Petersson [Caupeny]), Peter, 182, 183, 190, 274, 281

Peterson (Petersson [Smith]), Peter, 182*n*

Peterson (Petersson), Mrs. Peter (Annika?), 282

Peterson (Petersson), Mrs. Peter (Helena), 278, 281

Peterson (Petersen, Peters'), Mrs. Peter (over Brandywine), 193, 277

Peterson (Petersson), Mrs. Peter (Rebeccah, d. 1764), 204

Peterson (Petersson), Mrs. Rebeccah, 204

Peterson, Rebecka, 202

Peterson (Petersson), Ruben, 191

Peterson (Petersson), Samuel, 183*n*, 192, 193, 197, 277*n*, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291

Peterson (Petersson), Sara (d. 1726), 187, 188

Peterson (Petersson), Mrs. Sara, 274

Peterson (Petersson), Susanna, 186

Petersson; *see* Peterson

Petitions: Delaware (1682), 99, 100; New Castle (1699), 113-14; (1700), 116; Pennsylvania, 100, 119, 121; temperance, 247, 256, 259, 264

Pew, Torter, 187

Pfeifer, Herman, 172

Philadelphia, Pa.: caves, 82; celebrations, 207; churches, 86, 205*n*; Drexel Institute, 154; 18th century, 141-42; Finns, 82*n*; Independence Hall, 136; libraries, 206; merchants, 143; population (1683-85), 82; Sanitary Fair, 67; silversmiths, 208; Swedes, 82*n*; theatres, 5, 11*n*, 26*n*, 27, 28*n*, 31, 33*n*; trades, 71, 208; zoo, 164; *see also* Pennsylvania; Wicaco

Philadelphia County: population (1684), 276*n*

Photography, 147, opp. 150

Physicians: George H. Baker, 15*n*; William W. Baker, 15, 16; J. P. Chandler, 240, 241*n*; John Lofland, 250-51; James McCallmont, 215; Edward Miller, 294; David Ross, 302; Benjamin Rush, 240; John David Schoepf, 219; Tymen Stidham, 89, 277*n*; William Thornton, 219;

James Tilton, 215-16, 220, 240*n*; John Vaughan, 56; Nicholas Way, 142
Pickering, Charles, 102
Pier, Arthur Stanwood, 176
Pierce, Franklin, 259
Pierce, John, 205
Pierce, Margrete, 205
Pilottown, Del., 71-72
Pinckney, Charles C., 43
Pine, Robert Edge, 63, 64
Pinkett, Harold T., 70-71
Pipes, clay, 135
Piracy, 111, 207
Piscataway Indians, 306
Pitt, William, 144
Pitz, Henry C., 217-18
Plattsburg, battle of, 218
Plockhoy, Peter, 208-9
Plockhoy from Zurik-zee, by L. and M. Harder, 209
Plymouth Plantation, Of, by William Bradford, 298
Pocomoke River, 94
Poe, Edgar Allan, 24
Poetry, 24, 214, 250-51
Political Inquiries . . . ,by R. Coram, 139
Politics: clubs, 139; Federal period, 42-62, 66; immigrants' votes, 261-63; Spoils system, 58; taverns, 3*n*; women in, 37; *see also* Elections; Parties, by name
Pomfret, John E., 301
Pontgibaud, (Comte de Moré, Chevalier de), 296-97
Poole, John Morton, 208
Poole, Mrs. Sarah Sharpless, 208
Poole, William, 207-8
Poorhouse (Wilmington, Del.), opp. 11
Population: Delaware, 69, 97, 123, 275*n*, 276*n*
Porcelain: Chinese export, 133
Porter, Mr. (actor), 5, 36
Porter, Robert, 238*n*
Portland, Me., 248, 260
Portraits: J. A. Bayard, Jr., opp. 236; J. A. Bayard, Sr., opp. 236; S. B. Davis, 64; Howard Pyle, opp. 150, 206; George Read, Sr., 63; Gertrude Ross Read, 64
Postal system, 125*n*
Pottery, 71
Pouelson, Poulsen, Poulson; *see* Paulson
Poultry, Delaware, 70
Powell, John H., 292
Presbyterian Church: academy, 220; clergy, 71, 305; history, 221; temperance, 242, 256; Wilmington, Del., 215
Price, Paul H., 70
Prime Hook, Del., 95
Prince George's Chapel, Dagsborough Hd., Del., 213
Printers: John Adams, 63; broadside, 10*n*; Peter Brynberg, 139, 241*n*; Brynberg & Andrews, 139; Delaware, 63, 139, 146, 238*n*; handbills, 9; Hezekiah Niles, 61-62; Robert Porter, 238*n*
Printz, Johan: administration, 78, 83-85, 88, 90, 91
Printz Hall (Printzoff), 84
Privateers, 111, 115
Prohibition: circus, 7; liquor, 237, 257, 259, 265-69; theatre, 3-4
Proprietary colonies; *see* Delaware, Pennsylvania
Protestant Episcopal Church: architecture, 213; Christ Church (Dover), 213; Christ Church (Laurel), 213; clergy, 213, 305; Holy Trinity, 89*n*; Immanuel, 213; Prince George's Chapel, 213; St. Anne's, 213, 293; St. George's Chapel, 213; St. James, 199, 203, 280*n*; St. Peter's, 211-12; temperance, 242
Publications of Delaware Interest; *see* Delaware publications
Pugilism; *see* Boxing
Public Archives Commission: Dickinson Mansion, 133-35; library, 23*n*, 68; publications, 3*n*, 69
Puppet shows, 7, 13
Puritans: in Md. and Va., 298-99
Pyle, Howard: birth, 206; books, 154; exhibitions, 206; portraits, opp. 150, 206; School of Art, 151-77, 206, 217-18
Pyle, Mrs. Howard, 158, 208
Pyle family, 74
Pyle School of Art, 150-77, 206, 217-18

Quary, Robert, 122-24, 131
Quasi-war with France, 63, 214, 292
Quit-rents, in Delaware, 145-46

Raccoon Creek, N. J., 274*n*
Race (Racen), Andrew, 196
Race, Mrs. Anna Petersson, 195, 196
Race (Racen), John, 196
Race, Mrs. John; *see* Mrs. Anna Petersson Race

Racen; *see* Race
Railroads: Baltimore & Ohio, 220; P. B. & W., 152; Wilmington and Susquehanna, 72
Rambo, Mary, 89*n*
Randolph, Edward, 122, 123
Randolph, John, Jr., 45*n*, 46
Randolph, Thomas Mann, 43*n*, 54*n*, 56*n*
Rawnsley, Benjamin F., 15
Read, George, Jr. (1765-1836): manuscripts, 63; militia, 215
Read, George, Sr. (1733-1798): biography, 66, 302; manuscripts, 63
Read, Ingeborg, 194
Read, James, 35-36
Read, William T., 63
Read family, 63
Reading, Philip, 293, 305
Real, Jacob, 198
"Rebecca" (brigantine), 213-14
Reconstruction: test oaths, 225*n*
Red Clay Creek: mills, 90, 138
Rede, George Ross, 63
Reduction of Virginia and Maryland by the Puritans, by N. C. Hale, 298-99
Reed, D., 27-29
Reed, George, 190, 197
Reed, Mrs. George, 187, 188
Reed, H. Clay, 133
Reed, J., 29
Reed, Robbert, 190
Reed, Mrs. Sara, 187, 188
Reese; *see also* Race
Reese, Charles L., Jr., 181
Reese, Mrs. Charles L., Jr., 134
Reform: movement, 242, 252-55; *see also* Temperance
Regiments, Delaware: Civil War, 67-68; Continental, 297
Rehoboth, Del., 74
Reinhold, Sara, 186
Remington, Frederic, 162, 173
Remson family, 73
Rents, 38-39; in kind, 119
Representation: nonresident, 109, 142-43
Republican party: (of 1800), *see* Democratic-Republican party; (of 1856), 266, 267
Reynolds, William, 276*n*
Rhodes, William Barnes, 8*n*
Rice, Thomas Dartmouth ("Jim Crow"), 28, 29, 30, 40
Richards, Robert H., 65-66
Richardson's Run, 90
Rickards family, 306
Ridder, ————, 83
Ridgely, Ann, 23, 227
Ridgely, Charles G., 243*n*
Ridgely, Mrs. Charles G., 72, 209
Ridgely, Elizabeth, 243*n*
Ridgely, Henry, 23
Ridgely, Henry M.: correspondence, 23, 69, 227*n*, 245*n*
Ridgely, Nicholas, 69, 244*n*
Ridgely family, 68-70, 136
Ridgely Family Letters, Calendar of, ed. by deValinger and Shaw, 69-70
Rising, Johan, 86, 90, 212
Ristori, M. Adelaide, 29*n*
Roads: (1710), 278*n*; (1793), 145; downstate, 253; King's, 3*n*; Paper Mill, 136, 294; Queen's, 278*n*; Pilottown, 211; post, 137-38; turnpikes, 3
Robbesson; *see* Robinson
Roberts, James Booth, 39
Robin Hood, The Merry Adventures of, by H. Pyle, 154
Robinson (Robbesson), Edward, Jr., 190
Robinson (Robbesson, Robinsson), Edward, Sr. (d. 1761), 190, 203, 277
Robinson (Robinsson), Mrs. Edward, 184, 191
Robinson (Robbinsson), Mrs. Eleonora, 202
Robinson (Robbesson), Elizabeth (d. 1731), 191
Robinson (Robbesson), Mrs. Elizabeth (d. 1730), 191
Robinson, James, 280*n*
Robinson (Robbesson), Jesper, 189
Robinson (Robinsson), Johan, 183
Robinson (Robbesson), Josua (Joshua?), 187, 188
Robinson (Robinsson), Mrs. Margareta, 184
Robinson (Robbesson), Maria, 187, 188
Robinson (Robinsson), Richard, 200
Robinson (Robbesson), Robert (Robbert), 191, 193
Robinson (Robbinsson), Mrs. Robert, 202
Robinson (Robbesson), Wiljam, 187, 188
Robinson family, 306

Robinsson; *see* Robinson
Rodgers, John, 71
Rodney, Caesar: ride of (1776), 301
Rodney, Caesar A.: in law, 297; in politics, 66, 140-41, 144-45, 215-16; writings, 45*n*, 48, 54*n*, 55, 57, 63
Rodney, Richard S., 100, 133, 292, 294
Rodney, Thomas: diary, 48*n*, 51*n*, 54*n*, 227
Rodney, T. M.: correspondence, 266*n*
Rodney family, 74
Roisko, Henric, 274
Roman Catholic Church: opposition to, 107
Ropes, J., opp. 237
Rosbrow, James M., 210-11
Ross, Aeneas, 63, 305
Ross, Betsy; *see* Elizabeth Griscom Ross Ashburn Claypoole
Ross, David, 302
Ross, George, 63, 302, 305
Ross, John, 63, 306
Ross family, 63
Royal colonies, 122-23
Rowan, Archibald Hamilton, 142
Rowe, Nicholas, 30*n*
Rudman, Andreas, 205*n*, 273*n*
Rudman, Anna Catharina; *see* Mrs. Anna Catharina Rudman Tranberg
Rum, 173, 214
"Rum and Reform," by C. H. Bohner, 237-69
Rumford, Cyrus, opp. 150
Rumsey, William, 300
Rush, Benjamin: in medicine, 141-42, 240
Rush, William, 138
Russell family, 306
Russia, 78, 171
Russo-Japanese War, 171
Rutledge, John, 54
Ryden, George H., 293
Rye, 145

Sagle, Lawrence W., 220
St. Anne's Church (near Middletown, Del.), 213, 293
St. George's, Del.: early settlers, 89, 182, 183, 186, 274, 280, 282, 286, 287
St. George's Chapel (near Angola, Del.), 213
St. George's Church, 71
St. George's Creek, Del., 89
St. George's Hundred, N. C. Co., Del., 66
St. James Church (Stanton, Del.), 199, 203, 280*n*
St. Jones Creek, Del., 135
St. Peter's Church (Lewes, Del.), 211-12
Salaries: colonial, 70
Salem, Mass., 74
Salem, N. J., 81-82
Salt, 71, 139
Sampson [sic] *Against the Philistines*, 66
Sandel, Andreas: diary, 275*n*, 277*n*; Swe. pastor, 273*n*, 279*n*, 288
Santo Domingo, 139-40
Sargeant, Bettina, 303
Saville Bldg. (Wilmington, Del.), 6*n*
Saulsbury, Willard, 232, 266*n*
Scagen (Shagen, Skagen), Mrs. Elizabeth, 183, 282
Scagen (Skaggen), Jonas, 189
Scagen (Shagen, Skagen), Mrs. Jonas, 183, 282
Scarff, John H., 68
Schaefer, Peter, 70
Schaeffer, Roswell, 135
Schaffenhausen, Kerstin (Cirstin), 194
Schneider, Catharine; *see* Mrs. Catharine Schneider Baker
Schoepf, John David, 219
Schools: boarding, 139; boys', 28; books, 139, 251; *see also* Academies, Education
Schoonover, Frank, 160, 163, 164, 174, 175
Schurz, Carl, 261
Schute, Sven, 86
Schuylkill River, 79, 81, 82
Science: European influence, 206-7; *see also* Canals, names of individual scientists
Scots: in Delaware, 123
Scott, Joseph, 138-39
Scott (Skott), Mary; *see* Mrs. Mary Skott Vanneman
Scott, Sara, 189
Scott, Thomos (Thomas), 189
Screens, fire, 143
Sculpture, wooden, 137
Seals: provincial, 104
Second Delaware Regiment, Civil War, 67-68
Security Trust Co., Wilmington, Del., 15

Sedition: Act, 141, 215, 226; colonial, 102*n*, 103, 212
Seeds, Mrs. Brita Lycan; *see* Mrs. Brita Lycan Seeds Milner
Seeds, Johan (John, d. 1753), 198, 200*n*
Seeds, Mrs. Johan, 185
Seeds, Joseph, 199
Seeds, Mrs. Sara Walraven, 185, 285-91
Seeds family, 201
Sefton, Mr. (actor), 5
Sellers, Charles Coleman, 144, 209
Semple, William, 140
Senate, U. S.: impeachment trials, 54, 225-36
Senek's, Senex; *see* Sinneckson
"Serapis" (Brit. ship), 139
Sermons: manuscripts, 63
Servants: 183; female, 103, 201, 288, 290; male, 205
Sewall family, 306
Shagen; *see* Scagen
Shakespear Hotel (Wilmington, Del.), 34*n*
Shakespeare, William: dramas, 3*n*, 7, 10-12, 22-24, 33, 39
Sharp, H. Rodney, 134, 136
Sharp, Solomon, 24*n*
Sharpless, Sarah; *see* Sarah Sharpless Poole
Sharpless (Sharples) family, 74, 307
Shaw, Robert, 206
Shaw, Virginia E., 69-70
Sheep, 113
Sheets, 195
Shelley, Fred, 145
Shellpot Creek, Del.: mills, 90
Shere (Sher), Mrs. Anna, 274
Shere (Sher), Hans, 274
Sheridan, J., 14
Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, 3, 22
Sheriffs, 99
Shipbuilders: William Woodcock, 138
Shipping: in art, 31; British, 298-99; cargoes, 138; creek landings, 74; Wilmington, 133-34
Ships: "Bon Homme Richard" (Amer.), 139; brigantines, 213-14; clippers, 303; "Fama" (Swe.), 84, 91; "Frolic" (Amer.), 207; "General Washington" (of Wilm., Del.), 138; "Lucy Ann" (whaler, of Wilm., Del.), opp. 11, 31; "Rebecca" (brigantine), 213-14; "Serapis" (Brit.), 139; shallops, 138; sloop (Swe.), 68; "Swan" (Swe.), 276*n*; "Walvis" (Dutch), 79; "Wasp" (Amer.), 207; "Welcome" (1682), 98; *see also* Boats
Shoemakers: Christian (Christiern) Steelman, 278, 282, 283, 285, 289
Short, William, 43*n*
Shraeder, Frederick, 218
Shurtleff, Harold, 77*n*, 92
Siamese Twins, 36
Siddons, Sarah, 20*n*
Sign of James A. Bayard (tavern), 8, 9, 10, 12
Signs: Boy and Mortar, 143; tavern, 8-10, 12
Silver: commemorative, 207; plate, 113
Silversmiths: Johannis Nys, 293; Philadelphia, Pa., 208; William Poole, 207-8
Simcock, John, 110
Simms, Charles, 306
Sims' Vill, Del., 241*n*
Sinneckson, Brewr, Jr., 190
Sinneckson, Brewr, Sr., 190
Sinneckson (Senec, Senecce), Mrs. Brewr, 200, 282
Sinneckson, Mrs. Brita Hindricsson, 200
Sinneckson (Senek), Mrs. Dorcas, 186
Sinneckson (Seneck), James, 195
Sinneckson (Senek), Mrs. James, 186
Sinneckson (Senex), James, Jr., 204
Sinneckson (Senex), Margrete, 204
Sinneckson (Senece), Mary, 197
Sinneckson (Seneck), Morinas, 195
Sinneckson (Senecs'), Mrs. Sophia, 282
Sinnex, Sinnex's; *see* Sinneckson
Sitgreaves, Samuel, 227
Slack, Mr., 10
Slavery: abolitionists, 139, 219, 257-58, 262, 268, 304-5; insurrections, 139-40; lectures, 37; Kent County, 253; Sussex County, 253; Whig party, 258; *see also* Thomas Garrett; Slaves
Slavery and the 'Woman' Question, by F. B. Tolles, 304
Slaves: census, 258; Maryland, 302; quarters, 135
Sleighs, 164, 169
Slipware, 71
Slubbi; *see* Slubby
Slubby (Slubbi), Anna, 197
Slubby, Catharina, 285, 288, 290

Slubby (Sloby, Slubbi), Henry, 196, 201
Slubby, Magdalena, 183
Sluyter, Peter, 84, 88
Smedley family, 307
Smidt; *see* Smith
Smith, Miss, 12
Smith, Mr. (actor), 10, opp. 10, 33
Smith, Abraham, 58*n*
Smith (Smidt), Hans George, 194, 196, 199, 279*n*
Smith, Helen Burr, 73
Smith, Henry, 95, 299
Smith, James Morton, 215
Smith, John (1579-1631), 137
Smith, John (d. 1728), 190
Smith, John (d. 1757), 201
Smith (Smidt), Mrs. Maria Stalcop Vandever, 196, 272, 274, 277, 279, 280-82, 284-88, 290
Smith, Ophia D., 305
Smith, Peter Petersson; *see* Peter Peterson (Smith)
Smith (Smidt), Rebecca, 197
Smith, Samuel (of Baltimore, Md.), 42, 46-50, 52, 58-62
Smith, William (d. 1757), 201
Smith, William (of N.Y.), 212
Smithers, Nathaniel P., 266*n*
Smokehouse: Swedish, 91
Smyrna, Del.: newspapers, 249*n*
Smyth, David P., 144
Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities, 68
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 305
Society of Colonial Wars, 298-99
Society of Friends: and arts, 4, 40; colonial government, 97, 98, 107-12; genealogy, 305; marriage certificate, 73; meetings, 278*n*; missionaries, 97, 98, 212-13, 219, 306; persecution of, 301; temperance, 241-42; and theatre, 12, 20-21; *see also* Nicholites
Society of the Cincinnati, 207
Soler, William G., 214
Sons of Temperance, 246, 268
Sons of Washington, opp. 237
Sorborg, Barbro, 196
Sourcesol, W. C., 139
South Carolina, 43, 208, 216
Souville, Charles, 11
Spain, 226
Sparry (Spary), Mrs. John, 200
Sparry (Spary), Mrs. Maria, 200
Sparry, William, 197
Spear, Dorothea E., 144
Spectacles, 4
Spencer, Mrs. (d. 1761), 203
Sperry; *see* Sparry
Spiritualism, 17*n*
Spoils System, 58
Sports: boxing, 35-36; skating, 164; skiing, 164; swimming, 165; tennis, 163
Springer, Andreas (d. 1731), 191
Springer, Andreas (d. 1734), 192
Springer, Mrs. Ann, 192
Springer, Mrs. Annika Justis Morton Walraven, 273, 276, 277*n*, 280, 281, 283-90
Springer, Mrs. Catharina, 202*n*
Springer, Cathrine, 204
Springer, Charles, Jr., 192
Springer, Charles, Sr. (Carl; 1658-1738), 189, 193, 202, 270*n*, 277, 281, 286, 289
Springer, Charles Josephsson, 204
Springer, Christina; *see* Mrs. Christina Springer Ogle
Springer, Christopher, 198, 200
Springer, Courtland B., 178-205, 270-91
Springer, Mrs. Elizabeth Tranberg Parlin, 205*n*
Springer, Gabriel, 205*n*
Springer, Israel, 191
Springer, James, 193, 204
Springer, Johan (d. 1753), 198
Springer, John, 196
Springer, Joseph, 192, 196
Springer, Mrs. Joseph, 192
Springer, Mrs. Margrete, 203
Springer, Maria; *see* Mrs. Maria Springer Cleneay
Springer, Mrs. Maria Hendrickson, 189, 277, 281, 286, 289*n*
Springer, Rebecca; *see* Mrs. Rebecca Springer Stilley
Springer, Mrs. Rebecka, 201
Springer, Mrs. Ruth L., 178-205, 270-91
Springer, Mrs. Solomon (Salomon), 203
Springer family, 178*n*
Springfield Farm, Md., 302
Staats, Philip, 205
Stables, 37
Stalcop, ———, 199

Stalcop, ——— (d. c1695); *see* Mrs. Luloff Stidham
Stalcop, Andreas (d. 1731), 191
Stalcop, Andrew, 275*n*
Stalcop, Mrs. Andrew, 275*n*
Stalcop, Anders, Sr. (Antilli, Andrew), 186, 189, 191, 195, 285, 288
Stalcop, Mrs. Anders, 288
Stalcop, Andrew Håkan (Håka), 195
Stalcop, Mrs. Anna Barbara Woolbough, 278, 281, 284, 288
Stalcop, Mrs. Annika; *see* Mrs. Annika Erickson Stalcop Giöding
Stalcop (Stahlkop), Barbara (d. 1764), 205
Stalcop, Brita, 274
Stalcop, Brita; *see* Mrs. Brita Stalcop Justis
Stalcop, Carl, 187
Stalcop, Catharina; *see* Mrs. Catharina Stalcop Stidham
Stalcop, Mrs. Catharina ———; *see* Mrs. Catharina ——— Stalcop Stidham
Stalcop, Christina (d. 1715), 183
Stalcop, Christina; *see* Mrs. Christina Stalcop Biörk
Stalcop, Christina; *see* Mrs. Christina Stalcop Justis
Stalcop, Charles, 275*n*
Stalcop, Elizabeth, 191
Stalcop, Israel, 187, 188, 285, 288
Stalcop, Israel (c1724-53), 198
Stalcop, Johan (John; c1692-1751), 183, 192, 197, 280, 285
Stalcop, Mrs. Johan (John; Maria), 280, 285
Stalcop, Johannes (d. 1727), 189
Stalcop, John (d. 1700), 275*n*, 285*n*
Stalcop, Mrs. John (Annika), 187*n*
Stalcop, John Anderson (Johan Andersson; d. 1686), 90, 275*n*
Stalcop, Mrs. John Anderson, 275*n*
Stalcop, Jonas (c1679), 275*n*
Stalcop, Jonas (d. 1730), 187, 190, 284, 285*n*, 288
Stalcop, Mrs. Jonas, 185, 284, 288
Stalcop, Joseph (d. 1723), 186
Stalcop, Mrs. Judith Vandever (d. 1721), 185, 274, 275, 284, 288
Stalcop, Margareta, 186
Stalcop, Maria (d. 1726), 187, 188
Stalcop, Maria; *see* Mrs. Maria Stalcop Vandever Smith
Stalcop, Mrs. Maria, 280, 285
Stalcop, Maria Christina, 186
Stalcop, Mary; *see* Mrs. Mary Stalcop Steelman
Stalcop, Peter (d. 1710), 273*n*, 275*n*
Stalcop, Peter (d. 1752), 198
Stalcop, Philip (1721-58), 199, 202
Stalcop, Tobias, 192
Stalcop family, 274*n*
Stalcup; *see* Stalcop
Stalkofta; *see* Stalcop
Stamp Tax, 141
Stanard, Miss, 5
Standard, The (Wilmington, Del.), 248-49, 255
Stanton, Del.: churches, 199, 280*n*
Stanton, Edwin M., 67
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, 304
Star Gazer's Stone, 136
Starr revolver, 208; *see also* Firearms
Steam engine, 72
Stedham; *see* Stidham
Steel, Edwin D., Jr., 135
Steel, James, 281*n*
Steel family, 73
Steelman, Anders (d. 1726), 188, 189
Steelman (Stellman), Anna, 196
Steelman (Stillman), Charles, 204
Steelman (Stellman), Christiern (Christian), 278, 282-83, 285, 289
Steelman (Stillman), John (d. 1752), 198
Steelman (Stillman), John (d. 1763), 204
Steelman, John Hance, 275*n*-76*n*
Steelman, Mrs. John Hance, 275*n*
Steelman, Mrs. Mary Claypoole, 278*n*
Steelman, Mrs. Mary Stalcop, 275*n*
Steelman (Stillman), William, 198
Stedham; *see* Stidham
Stereoscope, 147
Stidham (Stedham), Adam (d. 1723), 186
Stidham (Stedham), Asmund (d. 1712), 277*n*
Stidham (Stedham), Mrs. Asmund, 279
Stidham (Stedham), Asmund (of Penn's Neck, N. J.), 196
Stidham (Stedham), Asmund; *see also* Erasmus
Stidham (Stedham), Bennet (Benedictus, Bengt, Benjamin, Bennct), 273*n*, 285
Stidham (Stedham), Catharina (d. 1718), 184

Stidham (Stedham), Mrs. Catharina (Karin) Stalcop, 277, 280, 281, 283, 286, 289
Stidham (Stedham), Mrs. Catharina —— Stalcop, 275*n*
Stidham (Stedham), Christopher, 184, 192, 290
Stidham (Stedham), Mrs. Christopher, 290
Stidham (Steddom), Elisabet (d. 1738), 193
Stidham (Stedham), Mrs. Elisabeth (d. 1717), 184, 284-87
Stidham (Stedhum), Elizabeth (d. 1742), 195
Stidham (Stedham), Mrs. Elizabeth Vandever, 288
Stidham (Stedham), Mrs. Engelkie, 287
Stidham (Stedham), Erasmus, 184, 185, 284, 285, 286, 287, 289, 290
Stidham (Stedham), Mrs. Erasmus (d. 1724), 187, 285, 286, 287, 289, 290
Stidham (Stedham), Mrs. Hanna, 290
Stidham (Stedham), Mrs. Helena Peterson (d. 1724), 187, 285-87, 289, 290
Stidham (Stedham), Henrich (Henry, Hindric, Hindrich), 184, 194, 200, 282, 284-90
Stidham (Stedham), Mrs. Henrich (Hindrich; d. 1717), 184, 284, 286, 287
Stidham (Stedham), Mrs. Henrich (d. 1735), 192
Stidham (Stedham), Ingeborg, 276-78, 280, 291
Stidham (Stedham), Mrs. Ingeborg, 285, 287, 291
Stidham (Stedham), Isaac, 198
Stidham (Stedham), Israel, 184
Stidham (Stedham), Mrs. Karin; *see* Mrs. Catharina (Karin) Stalcop Stidham
Stidham (Stedham), Lucas, Jr. (Lucasson), 187, 277, 280, 281, 285, 287, 291
Stidham (Stedham), Mrs. Lucas, Jr., 285, 287, 291
Stidham (Stedham), Lucas, Sr. (d. 1726), 187, 188, 275*n*, 277, 280, 281
Stidham (Stedham), Mrs. Lucas, Sr., 277, 280, 281, 283, 286, 289
Stidham (Stedham), Lucas Jonasson (d. 1753), 198
Stidham (Stedham), Luloff (Lyloff; d. 1704), 275*n*, 291
Stidham, Mrs. Luloff (d. c1695), 275*n*
Stidham, Mrs. Luloff (Catharina), 275*n*
Stidham (Stedham), Luloff (b. 1723), 89
Stidham (Stedham), Mrs. Luloff (d. 1764), 205
Stidham (Stedham), Lyloff; *see* Luloff Stidham
Stidham (Stedham), Margret (d. 1742), 195
Stidham (Stedham), Mrs. Margareta; *see* Mrs. Margareta Peterson Stedham Jones
Stidham (Stedham), Maria (d. 1721), 185
Stidham (Stedham), Maria (d. 1724), 187
Stidham (Stedham), Mary (d. 1751), 197
Stidham (Stedham), Samuel, 282
Stidham (Stedham), Timotheus Adamsson, 287
Stidham (Stedham), Timothy Lucasson, 199
Stidham (Stedham), Timothy (Timotheus, Thimothy) Luloffson (Lyloffson; d. 1763), 89, 195, 204, 282, 288
Stidham (Stedham), Tobias (d. 1750), 196
Stidham (Stedham), Dr. Tymen, 89, 277*n*
Stidham family, 89, 181
Stilley, Andrew (Andries), 289*n*
Stilley, Andrew (son of Jacob), 204, 289*n*
Stilley, Mrs. Annettje, 289*n*
Stilley (Stille), Jacob, 289, 290, 291
Stilley (Stilly), Jonathan, 192, 204, 205, 289*n*
Stilley, Lydia; *see* Mrs. Lydia Stilley Bird
Stilley, Maria; *see* Mrs. Maria Stilley Bird
Stilley, Mrs. Rebecca Springer, 289, 290, 291
Stillman; *see* Steelman
Stockton family, 73
Stone, Lucy, 253*n*
Strickland, William, 72, 210, 306
Stuyvesant, Peter: governor, 78*n*, 79*n*, 299
Suffrage, 231*n*, 235, 254
Sugar, 214
Sullivan, William, 146
Sully, Thomas, 63, 64, 206
Sumner, Charles, 232, 233, 234, 235
Sunday: labor, 17*n*
Sunday Star (Wilmington, Del.), 68, 140
Supreme Court, Del., 211
Susquehanna Valley, 307
Sussex County, Del.: agriculture, 69, 253; churches, 97, 209, 213, 242; colony, 99,

103; epidemics, 130*n*; folklore, 140; history, 69; politics, 264, 265; *see also* New Deal, Whorekill
Sussex County Archaeological Association, 71-72, 211-12
Swain family, 73
"Swan" (Swe. ship), 276*n*
Swanendael, Del., 208-9
Sweateman's Court (Wilmington, Del.), 39*n*
Sweatman, James C., 38, 39*n*
Swedberg, Jesper, Jr., 280*n*
Swedberg, Jesper, Sr. (Bishop), 279*n*, 280*n*
Swedenborgian Church: *see* New Church (Swedenborgian)
Sweden, 77, 196
Swedes, on Delaware: architecture, 82*n*, 136, 142; boats, 87; cart, 194; churches, 83, 84, 89*n*, 97, 178-205, 213, 270-91; expeditions, 83, 87; folklore, 307; land grants, 100; language, 217; mills, 90-91; population (1654-55), 275*n*; (1682), 97; (1684, 1693, 1697-98), 276*n*; trade, 84, 85, 91, 299; *see also* Fort Christina
Swientochowski, John, 301
Swiggett, Howard, 214-15
Switzerland, 78
Swords: of honor, 64, 207
Symcock, John, 104

Tables, 143
Talbot, John, 213
Talley, Wesley, 237, 238, 245
Tariff: Federal, 216
Tatnall family, 73
Taxes: colonial, 102, 131, 141; liquor, 255, 268; Stamp, 141
Taylor, C. W., opp. 11, 19
Taylor, Joseph, 204
Tazewell, Littleton W., 57*n*
Teedyuscung (king of the Delaware Indians), 307
Temperance: pledge, opp. 237, 269; in politics, 237-69; societies, 248*n*, 252, 268
Temperance Advocate and . . . Journal, 249*n*
Temperance Hall, Wilmington, Del., 39*n*, 244, 257
Temperance party, 257
Temperance Reader, 251
Tennis, 163
Tents, 77, 81*n*
Ternan, Mr. (actor), 32
Ternan, Mrs. Frances Jarman, 32, 33, 34, 40
Terrapin, 74
Tew, Daniel, 201
The Story of the Revolution, by H. C. Lodge, opp. 150
Theatre (Wilmington, Del.): advertising, 9, opp. 10; architecture, 11*n*; benefits, 11; boxes, 19, 23, 26; Chipp Company, 34*n*, 35; costumes, 16*n*; Cowell Corps, 35; dancing, 23; farces, 23, 24*n*, 25, 32; melodramas, 11; music, 25, 26; panoramas, 31; performances, hours of, 19, 32; pit, 23, 26; profits, 35; programs, opp. 11, 133, 134; public opposition, 3-4, 12, 13, 14, 17*n*, 18, 20-21, 35*n*, 40-41; scenery, opp. 3, 28, 30; seasons, 35*n*; spiritualism, 17*n*; tickets, 5, 6, 8, 10, opp. 11, 14, 19, 31, 35*n*, 37; ventriloquism, 17*n*; Wemyss Company, 11*n*, 34; Wilmington Theatre, 3-41; *see also* Drama for play titles
Third Hook; *see* Verdrietige Hoeck
Thomas, Bert S., 220
Thomas, Cornelia Frances; *see* Mrs. Cornelia Frances Thomas Burke Jefferson
Thomas, John Chew, 56
Thompson, Mr. (actor), 29
Thompson, H. P., 305
Thomson, Maria S., 67-68
Thornton, William, 219
Thornton, Willis, 219
Three Lower Counties; *see* Delaware
Three Tree Hook; *see* Verdrietige Hoeck
Tienhoven, Cornelius, 79*n*
Tilly, Andries; *see* Andrew Stilley
Tilton, James, 215-16, 220, 240*n*
Timber: birch, 164; cedar, 87; chestnut, 157; in commerce, 84, 85, 91, 135; hemlock, 84; hickory, 85; holly, 295; mahogany, 295; oak, 91
Timber Island, 283*n*
Tingle, Nathaniel (Fan), 140, 221
Tinicum Island, 84, 87, 90, 91
Tinkcom, Harry M., 145-46
Tippecanoe Club, Wilmington, Del., 37
Toarson; *see* Tussey
Tobacco: colonial trade, 125, 135, 138, 298-99; storage, 15*n*
Tobin, John, 5
Tocqueville, Alexis de, 245
Tolles, Frederick B., 304

Tomhave, A. E., 70
Tomlinson, Mrs. Eliza Clayland, 73
Tomlinson, W., 208
Tomlinson family, 73
Tools: 207; adz, 87; ax, 83*n*, 87; pitchfork, 198; saws, 91
Torrey, Charles, 304-5
Tory, 146; *see also* Loyalists
Tossa, Tossawa; *see* Tussey
Townsend, George Alfred, 216-17, 305
Towson, Md., 69
Toys, 135
Tracy, Uriah, 48
Trade, Council of, 124
Traders, Free Society of; *see* Free Society of Traders
Trades: tools, 207; *see* names of trades, i. e., blacksmiths, brickmakers, cabinetmakers, carpenters, clockmakers, gunsmiths, hatmakers, masons, millers, printers, shipbuilders, silversmiths, watchmakers
Tranberg, Anders, 202
Tranberg, Mrs. Anna Catharina Rudman, 195, 205
Tranberg, Elizabeth; *see* Mrs. Elizabeth Tranberg Parlin Springer
Tranberg, Peter, 195, 205*n*
Tranberg, Petrus, Jr., 196
Tranberg, Rachel, 195
Tranberg, Rebecca; *see* Mrs. Rebecca Tranberg Benzel Killen
Transportation: changes, 68; coach, 145; sleighs, 164, 169; sulky, 36; Swedish cart, 194; wagons, 71
Travelers: descriptions by, 145, 295
Treason: *see* Loyalty Oath; Sedition
Treaties: Jay's, 42; Ghent (1814), 69-70, 231
Trees: birch, 164; cedar, 87; chestnut, 157; hemlock; hickory, 85; holly, 295; oak, 91; *see also* Timber
Trickey, E. Bruce, 135
Tridie Hoeck (Third Hook); *see* Verdrietige Hoeck
Trinity Hook; *see* Verdrietige Hoeck
Tripoli campaign, 207
True, Allen, 171
Trumbull, Lyman, 232
"Tulip Hill" (Md. house), 302-3
Tumilson (Tummelsson), Isaac, 199
Tumilson (Tumelsson), Johan, 199
Turnpikes; *see* Roads
Tussey, Mrs. Anna; *see* Mrs. Anna Toarson Jones
Tussey (Tossawa), Annika, 274, 288, 289, 290
Tussey (Tossawa), Mrs. Annika, 282, 286
Tussey (Tossawa), Mrs. Annika Clements, 272
Tussey (Tossawa), Elisabeth, 280, 282
Tussey (Tossawa), Mrs. Gertrud (d. 1716), 184, 278, 282, 285
Tussey (Tossawa), Hendrich (d. 1717), 184
Tussey (Toarson), Henry, 272*n*, 273*n*
Tussey, Jacob; *see* Jacob Lawson
Tussey (Tossawa), Johan (d. 1722), 184, 186, 280, 282, 286
Tussey (Tossawa), Mrs. Johan, 282, 286
Tussey (Tossawa), Johan (d. 1726), 188, 189
Tussey (Toarson), John (son of Olof), 273*n*
Tussey, Kerstin, 272
Tussey, Lasse (Laurence), 272*n*
Tussey, Mrs. Lasse, 272*n*
Tussey (Tossawa), Måns (d. 1728), 190
Tussey (Toarson), Margaret, 273*n*
Tussey (Tossawa), Maria, 182
Tussey (Toarson), Matthias (son of Olof), 273*n*
Tussey (Tossawa), Matz, 182
Tussey (Toarson), Olla, Jr. (d. 1687), 272*n*, 273*n*
Tussey (Toarson), Olla, Sr., 272*n*
Tussey (Toarson), Olla (son of Olla, Jr.), 272*n*, 273*n*
Tussey (Tossa), Olle, 194
Tussey (Tossawa), Olof (d. 1722), 186
Tussey (Tossawa), Mrs. Olof (d. 1716), 184, 278, 282, 285
Tussey (Toarson), Stephen (Staphan; d. 1715), 183, 272*n*, 273*n*
Tussey family, 180
Twelve Mile Circle; *see* Boundaries, Delaware
"Two Generations of Bayards Debate the Question: Are Congressmen Civil Officers," by Harold M. Hyman and Morten Borden, 225-36
Tybout, Ella Middleton, 208
Tybout family, 208
Tyler, Samuel, 56*n*

Underground Railway, 304-5
Underwood, Mrs. John A., 64
Unitarian Church (Wilmington, Del.), 169
United States Army, 63, 67
United States Atlases, 72
United States Congress; attendance, 19*n*, 63; *see also* House of Representatives, U. S.; Senate, U. S.
United States Gazetteer, by J. Scott, 138-39
United States Mint, 142
United States Navy: engagements, 218; establishment, 58, 60; history, 210
United States Sanitary Commission, 67
University of Delaware, 70
Upland (Chester, Pa.), 85, 98, 99
Upland Kill, Pa., 80
Usselinx, William, 72

Vallandigham, J. L., 256*n*
Valley Forge, Pa., 157, 209, 298
Vandenburg, Henry, 89*n*
Vandenburgh, Aaron Johnson, 279*n*
Vandenburgh, Mrs. Barbara (Barbro) James Johnson, 279*n*-80*n*, 282
VanderBuck family, 73
Vanderculen; *see also* Von Culin
Vanderculen, Jacob, 191
Vanderculen, Jonas, 191
Vanderculen (von Culen), Reigner (Regner), 191, 279*n*
Vanderculin, Reigner, Sr., 191*n*
Vandever (Vandewer), Adam, 193
Vandever (Vandewer), Bille, 193
Vandever, Brigitta, 195
Vandever, Mrs. Brita, 191
Vandever, Catharina, 279*n*
Vandever (Wandewer), Christina (Stina), 194
Vandever, Cornelius, 184, 195, 203, 277, 279*n*
Vandever (Wandevar), Mrs. Cornelius, 203
Vandever (Wan de Wer), Mrs. Elisabeth (d. 1728), 189, 290
Vandever, Elizabeth; *see* Mrs. Elizabeth Vandever Stidham
Vandever (Vandewer, Wandewer), Jacob (d. 1737), 193, 194, 274, 277, 280-90
Vandever (Van de Wer), Mrs. Jacob, 274
Vandever (van de Wer), Johan (John, d. before May, 1720), 275, 279
Vandever (Van der Weer), Johan (d. 1754), 199
Vandever (van de Wer), Mrs. Johan, 279
Vandever, Judith; *see* Mrs. Judith Vandever Stalcop
Vandever (Wandevar), Mrs. Margret Hopman (d. 1750), 195
Vandever (Wandevar), Mrs. Margrete (d. 1763), 203
Vandever, Mrs. Maria; *see* Mrs. Maria Stalcop Vandever Smith
Vandever, Peter (d. 1754), 200
Vandever, Peter (tavernkeeper), 3*n*, 5, 7
Vandever (Van der Weer, Wer), Philip, 184, 196, 278, 282-84, 286, 288, 290
Vandever (Wandever), Mrs. Philip (d. 1728), 189, 290
Vandever, Mrs. Philip (d. 1730), 191
Vandever (Van der Weer), Rebecca, 197
Vandever, Susanna, 193
Vandever (Wandewer), William (d. 1718), 184, 193, 194, 288
Vandever's Island, Del., 284*n*
Vandever's tavern (Wilmington, Del.), 3, 5, 7
Vanneman (von Neeman), Elisabeth, 273, 281
Vanneman (Von Neeman), Mrs. Elisabeth, 273, 281
Vanneman (Von Nieman), Johan (d. 1740), 194
Vanneman (Vaneman), John (d. 1758), 202
Vanneman (Van Neman), Mrs. Mary Scott (d. 1750), 196
Vanneman (Vaneman), William, Jr. (d. 1765), 204
Vanneman (Waniman), William, Sr., 201, 204
Vanneman (Van Neman), Mrs. William, 196
Varkens Kill; *see* Salem Creek, N. J.
Vaughan, Mr., 31-32
Vaughan, Dr. John, 56
Ventriloquism, 17*n*
Verdrietige Hoeck (Tridie, Third, Three Tree, Trinity, Hoeck or Hook), 272*n*, 283, 288
Vermont: election of 1800, 58
Veterans': World War II, 225-26

Vining (Vainan, Wainan), Andrew (Anders, Ante), 183-85, 287, 288
Vining (Wainan), Mrs. Andrew (Anders, Ante, 283, 287
Vining (Vainan), Mrs. Elisabeth (d. 1715), 183
Vining (Weinant), Mrs. Elizabeth Garritsson (d. 1750), 196
Vining (Vainan), Jacob, 185
Vining (Winan), Lars, 201
Vining (Weinant), Mrs. Lorents, 196
Vining (Vainan), Mrs. Margareta, 283, 287, 288
Vining (Vainan), Stephen (Staphan), 184
Violin, 4, 34
Virginia: architecture, 77, 81*n*, 82*n*; Puritans, 298-99
Von Closen, Ludwig (Baron), 219
Von Culen; *see* Von Culin
Von Culen, Reigner; *see* Reigner Vanderculin
Von Culin (Culen), Gregory, 279*n*
Von Culin (Culen), Mrs. Ingrid, 279
Von Culin (Culen), Jacob, 279*n*
Von Culin (Culen), Johan, 274, 279, 281, 283, 284, 286, 288, 290
Von Culin (Culen), Mrs. Kerstin, 279, 281, 283, 284, 286, 288, 290
Von Culin (Culen), Maria, 279*n*
Von Culin (Culen), Regner, 279
Von Culin (Culen) family, 279*n*

Wagons: for troops, 71
Waldegrave, Miss (actress), opp. 11, 19, 24, 25
Waldegrave, Mrs. (actress), opp. 11, 19
Wale, George, 135
Wales, John, 266*n*
Wall, Herman, 165
Wallace, Paul A. W., 307
Wallack, Mrs. Ann Duff Waring, 34, 40
Wallack, James W., 34*n*
Waln, Richard, Jr., 214
Walraven, Mrs. Annika; *see* Mrs. Annika Justis Morton Walraven Springer
Walraven, Benjamin, 190
Walraven, Brita; *see* Mrs. Brita Walraven Justis
Walraven, Catharina; *see* Mrs. Catharina Walraven Justis
Walraven, Mrs. Christiana, 185*n*
Walraven (Wallrave), Hannah, 199
Walraven (Wallraven), Isaac, 204
Walraven, Jesper, Jr., 187, 188, 190, 203, 283, 285, 287
Walraven, Mrs. Jesper, Jr. (d. 1723), 186
Walraven, Jesper, Sr. (Gisbert, Guisbert; d. before June, 1714), 185*n*, 187, 279, 282, 286-90
Walraven, Mrs. Jesper, Sr. (d. 1725), 187, 279, 282, 286, 287, 291
Walraven, Johannes, 195
Walraven (Walrave), John, 196
Walraven, Jonas, Sr. (d. 1724), 187, 273, 274*n*, 276, 277*n*, 280, 281, 283-90
Walraven, Mrs. Jonas, Sr., 273, 276, 277*n*, 280, 281, 283-90
Walraven (Walrave), Jonas (1704-51), 197
Walraven (Wallrave), Jonas (d. -1752), 197
Walraven (Wallraven), Jonas (c 1760s), 203
Walraven, Jonas Jespersson (d. 1727), 189
Walraven (Wallraven), Justa, 204
Walraven (Walrawen), Kerstin, 284-90
Walraven, Mrs. Kerstin (d. 1725), 187, 279, 282, 286, 287, 291
Walraven, Maria (d. 1726), 187, 188
Walraven, Mrs. Maria (Mary; d. 1723), 186, 285, 287
Walraven (Wallrave), Mrs. Maria (d. 1757), 201
Walraven (Walrawen), Sara (d. 1721); *see* Mrs. Sara Walraven Seeds
Walraven, Sara (d. 1729), 190
Walraven (Wallraven), Swen, 204
Walraven (Wallrawen), Walraven (Walle), 192
Walraven family, 186*n*
"Walvis" (ship), 79
Wandever; *see* Vandever
War of 1812: battles, 210, 218; Brit. attacks, 64, 219; Lewes, Del., 64; New Castle militia, 215; treaty, 69-70, 231
War of the Revolution, by C. L. Ward, 296-97
Ward, Christopher L., 293, 296-97
Ward, Mrs. Christopher L., 67, 138
Ward, James T., 67
Waring, Ann Duff; *see* Mrs. Ann Duff Waring Wallack
Warren, Robert Penn, 24
Washington, George: in art, 146, 175*n*-

76*n*; biography, 144, 218, 297-98; in Wilmington, Del., 216
Washington, Mrs. Martha Dandridge Custis, 297
Washington, D. C., 19, 72, 219
Washington, Sons of, 244
Washington Band (Wilmington, Del.), 25, 26, 32
"Wasp" (ship), 207
Watches, 144
Watchmakers: B. S. Clark, 144; I. M. Cooper, 144; G. Elliott, 144; G. Jones, 144; A. Patterson, 144; D. P. Smyth, 144
Watson, Mr. (actor), 33
Watson, Mrs. (actress), 33
Watson, Luke, 103, 108
Waugh family, 306
Wax figures, 14*n*
Way, Dr. Nicholas, 142
Way's Hotel (Wilmington, Del.), 6
Weather, 28, 194
Weaver, Robert G., 221
Webb, Benjamin, 38, 39
Webster, Mr., 204
"Wedgbury" (Mill Creek Hd.), 280*n*
Weinant; *see* Vining
Weis, Frederick L., 142
Weisberger, Bernard A., 305
Weiss, Harry B., 71
Weitenkampf, Frank, 144-45
"Welcome" (ship), 98
Wells, Mr., 7*n*
Welsh, Mrs., 203
Wemyss, Francis Courtney, 5*n*, 28*n*, 32, 33*n*, 34, 35, 41
Wemyss Theatrical Company, 11*n*, 34
Werden, Sir John, 97*n*
Wertenbaker, T. J., 79
Weslager, C. A., 77-95, 135, 301
West Nottingham Academy, 217, 220
West India Company: settlements, 78, 79*n*
West Indies, 107, 213-14
West Jersey, 125*n*, 272*n*; *see also* New Jersey
Whaling: ships, opp. 11, 31
Wheelock Co., Allen and, 208
Whig party: campaigns, 259; clubs, 37; elections, 216, 259; parades, 36; press, 261; slavery, 258; temperance, 255, 257, 258, 260, 267
White, Miss C. (actress), 10
White, Miss E. (actress), 9, 10
White, Joseph, 143
White, Leonard D., 140-41
White, Maria, 187, 188
White, Samuel, 294
White, William (Bishop), 209
White, William (Wiljam), 187, 188
White Clay Creek, Del., 138, 280*n*
White Horse Hotel (Wilmington, Del.), 244
White House, Va., 68
Whiteley, Henry, 25
Whorekill, on the Delaware: court, 134; Md. raid, 299-300; settlement, 79, 93-95, 299-300; *see also* Lewes, Del.
Whorekill (Sussex) County, 99; *see also* Sussex County
Wicaco, Pa.: blockhouse, 86; population, 274*n*, 276*n*, 279*n*, 286*n*; *see also* Philadelphia, Pa.
Wicaco Indians, 93
Wicomico River, 93
Wigglesworth Museum (Wilmington, Del.), 17*n*
Wilder, John (Johan), 185, 186, 189
Wilder, Margareta, 189
Wilder, Richard, 186
Wilder, William, 185
Wilkes, John, 133
Wilkins, Elwood, 135
Wilkinson, Norman B., 304
Willard, Joseph, 216
William III (of Orange, king of England), 106, 112, 212
William, Mary, 278*n*
Williams, William, 73
Williams, William (Joseph), 73
Williamson, J., 45*n*
Willing, Thomas, 140, 193
Wilmington, Del.: Academy of Music, 5*n*; banks, 15; Board of Health, 15*n*, 302; bridges, 31, 36; celebrations, 167; cemeteries, 140; Central Building, 39*n*; churches, 178-205, 213, 215, 270-91; circus, 7; city council, 239; Delaware Art Center, opp. 150, 206; druggists, 220; economy, 40-41; Grand Opera House, 5*n*, 7*n*; hotels, inns, taverns, 6, 8-10, 12, 34*n*, 35*n*, 36, 239, 244, 265, 266*n*; library, 139; lodges, 15*n*; maps, 140, 217; mayors, 265-66; mills, 139,

206; museums, 17*n*; newspapers, opp. 11, 14, 17*n*, 39, 68, 139, 140, 248-49, 255, 259, 261, 264; Odd Fellows Hall, 4*n*, 6, 11*n*, 35*n*, 39; Old Town Hall, 36, 304; ordinances, 13; parades, 36, 157; poorhouse, opp. 11; population, 4, 65; port, 53, 58; printers, 9, 10, 217, 238*n*, 241*n*; public meetings, 37, 215, 245, 248, 253*n*, 255; railroads, 72, 152; reform movement, 252-53; reservoir, 163; Saville Bldg., 6*n*; schools, 28, 139, 147, 209, 215, 251; shipping, 133-34; slavery, 304; spiritualism, 17*n*; stable, 37; streets, 3*n*, 6, 8-11, 14-16, 17*n*, 34*n*, 139-40, 153, 156, 163; Temperance Hall, 39, 244, 257; theatre, 3-41; Tippecanoe Club, 37; "View," opp. 3, opp. 11, 31; warehouses, 15*n*; Washington Band, 25, 26; *see also* Fort Christina; Historical Society of Delaware; Swedes, on Delaware

Wilmington Academy: teachers, 139; site, 147, 215; trustees, 209

Wilmington and Susquehanna Railroad, 72

Wilmington Boarding School, 139

Wilmington Female Temperance Benevolent Society, 247-48

Wilmington Society of the Fine Arts, opp. 150, 206

Wilmington Theatre Company, 15, 16, 25, 37-39

Wilmot Proviso, 258

Wilson, A., 6

Wilson, H., 6

Wilson, Kenneth M., 74

Wiltbanck, Abraham, 306

Wiltbanck, Hermanus, 72, 95

Wiltbanck (Wiltbank) family, 306

Winchester, Alice, 143

Windell, Marie E., 181, 206-21, 292-307

Wines, 165

Winslow, George, 16

Winterthur Museum, Henry Francis du-Pont, 136, 143

Wisdom, Samuel, opp. 11, 17

Witherspoon, David, 71

Wolbach; *see* Woolbough

Wolf, Hazel C., 304-5

Wolfe, Gen. James, 6

Wolfe's Hotel (Wilmington, Del.), 6

Women: missionaries, 219; in politics, 256; temperance, 247-48

Wonder Clock, The, by H. Pyle, 154

Wood, Mr. (actor), 5*n*, 9, 10, opp. 10

Wood, Joseph, 115, 116

"Woodburn" (house), 294-95

Woodcarving, 137, 138, 146

Woodcock, William, 138

Woolbough (Wolffback), Adolph, 198

Woolbough, Mrs. Anna Barbara; *see* Mrs. Anna Barbara Woolbough Stalcop

Woolbough (Wolbach, Woolbaugh), Albert (Albertus), 183, 278, 281, 288*n*

Woolbough (Wolbach), Mrs. Albertus, 278, 281, 284, 288*n*

World War II, 3*n*, 68

Wray, J. C., 11, 12

Wright, Frances, 37

Wyeth, Andrew, opp. 150, 152, 173, 174

Wyeth, Andrew N., Sr., 166

Wyeth, Mrs. Andrew N., Sr., 160, 166

Wyeth, Mrs. Caroline Bockius, opp. 151, 152, 169-70, 171

Wyeth, Newell Convers: art training, 151-77, 206

Wyeth, Stimson, 159

Wynkoop family, 142

XYZ Affair, 42, 226

Yeates, Jasper, 121, 124, 127

Yorktown, Va., 218

Zachary, Daniel, 119*n*, 125*n*

Zebley, Frank R., 199*n*

Zerbee, Leigh F. J., 208

"Zip Coon," 23

Zither, 4